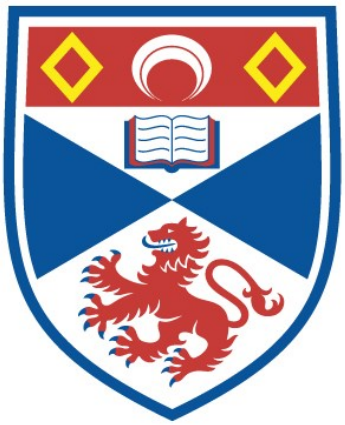
RELIGIOUS CHANGE AND CONTINUITY AMONG THE AMI OF TAIWAN

Shiun-Wey Huang

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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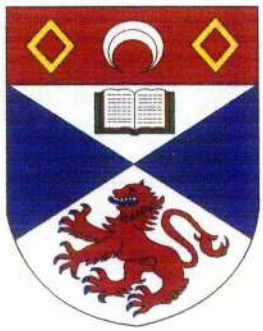
Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
to the University of St. Andrews
by

Shiun-wey Huang

(1995)



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Certificate

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Signature of supervisor: Date: 7th June 1995

Declaration

I, Shiun-wey Huang, hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 100,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me in University of St. Andrews and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted as a research student (under ordinance No. 12) in October 1990 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D in Social Anthropology on the same date.

Signature of candidate: Date: 7th June, 1995

In memory of my father, A-chin Huang,

who died in 1985

Abstract

Within a few years of the end of World War Two Christianity had spread to every Taiwanese aboriginal group. Nowadays a variety of Christian churches play an important role in aboriginal society. This study is about conversion to Christianity and its aftermath in an aboriginal village. Fieldwork was conducted among the Ami (one of the nine Taiwanese aboriginal groups), in Iwan, a village on the eastern coastal of Taiwan.

In this study the individual interests of social actors are emphasised. I suggest that not only political leaders had special motives (i.e. to pursue political power) in conversion, but also ordinary people had their own interests too (i.e. to pursue a better life in the future). In this sense we might say that the meanings, functions, purposes and aims imputed to religion by converts are arrived at through local dialogues.

Religious conversion happened against a historical background of long and sustained contact with colonising immigrants (e.g. Japanese and Chinese). During colonial rule, Ami social life expanded radically and mass conversion took place , in the 1950s, when a common dissatisfaction with life was felt. I argue that relative deprivation was an important factor in this conversion and it became significant because of the emphasis put on it by local political leaders. The adoption of different Christian churches is best understood from the perspective of internal political relations and the careers of political leaders.

In general I argue that through the articulations of prominent Ami leaders various external phenomena have been integrated into Ami life and successful articulations have also helped certain political leaders to pursue or maintain their authority.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Born and brought up in a multi-ethnic village in eastern Taiwan, the so-called 'backward area' of the island, I have had many opportunities to make contact with the aborigines. I have the over-all impression that many Chinese people do not treat aborigines justly and to some extent this originates from the dominant group's chauvinism. For example, the aborigines' mass conversion to Christianity is very often seen by many Chinese simply as a result of the distribution of economic relief by the Christian churches. I hope this thesis can help the majority Chinese to understand the minority people rather better.

I also hope that I can repay the Ami people, particularly those living in Iwan, who put up with my presence and seemingly irrelevant questions. The Ami showed great tolerance towards my curiosity. Unfortunately I can not, here, express my debts of gratitude to them individually, but some do deserve a special mention. In particular Mr. Kuei-chau Huang (Lifok), my one-time research team-mate (and friend ever since), introduced me to his home village and kin. He also taught me Ami language. In Iwan, I stayed with two families during different times and I must say a sincere thank to Wusay, Apo', Akiyo and Dipon for their hospitality.

In writing these acknowledgements I feel myself overwhelmed by the number of people to whom I owe gratitude and to whom I can never sufficiently express it. Regrettably I can not mention all their names here.

I have to begin with thanks to Professor Ladislav Holy, whose supervision allowed me to pursue my own ideas both in the field and in the stage of writing. I am also indebted to Dr. Roy Dilley. Both of them read the earlier drafts of the thesis and discussed many points with me. Their encouragements and comments are gratefully appreciated.

A part of this thesis was read at the postgraduate seminar of the Department of Social Anthropology, University of St. Andrews. Many valuable comments have been offered by Dr. David Riches, Dr. Nigel Rapport, Dr. Mario Aguilar and Ms. Claudia Gross. Dr. Riches also read a paper based on the material of chapter 6 and gave some advice on it. Their suggestions were of great help to me in writing the final draft.

Particular thanks are due to Dr. John Fewster, a retired professor of bio-chemistry, who devoted his time to reading through the whole draft and helping me with my English. His valuable opinions gave me some insights to expand and clarify my presentation. I shall always remember his generosity and erudition. In the same respect, I am very much grateful to Mrs. Christine Wolfe, Mr. Jonathan Skinner, Dr.

John Fleming and Miss Alison Baillie who helped me with my English and made the thesis more readable. I also want to acknowledge the contribution made by my friend William Singleton who patiently helped edit this thesis.

My research was supported, at various stages, by several institutions. I am grateful to the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan for supporting my graduate education and fieldwork. The National Science Council of the Republic of China in Taiwan provided me with a three-year grant for my study at St. Andrews for which I am most grateful. The fieldwork which formed the basis of part three was carried out between September 1992 and August 1993. I am indebted to the Russell Trust of the University of St. Andrews for its financial assistance which enabled me to travel to and from Taiwan to conduct my fieldwork.

An intellectual debt is also owed to my teachers in the National Taiwan University and Professor Yih-yuan Li in particular. It was his lecture entitled 'Primitive Religion' that guided me towards the frontiers of religious anthropology. I would also like to thank Dr. Ying-kuei Huang, my colleague in the Institute of Ethnology, for his encouragements and helpful discussions. He has been a source of inspiration in my research. I also thank my friends Mr. Wen-te Chen, Mr. Sung-san Wang, Ms. I-yi Cheng, Ms. Wei-ping Lin and Ms. Su-yuan Yang for their moral support and in supplying information from London, Oxford, Manchester, Cambridge and Taipei respectively. Two friends from mainland China, Dr. Guang-ping Dai and Ms. Hai-tou Huang, helped me with printing. And a Japanese friend, Mr. Takanoli Kobayosi, helped me with my Japanese language problems. Their friendship will be always in my memory.

Finally I must thank my relatives for their long term support. My parents' love and tolerance allowed me to choose anthropology, not a very popular subject in Taiwan (I am afraid), as a career. My siblings look after my elderly disabled mother while I study far away. There remains to be thanked my wife, Jung-kuei, and daughters, Pei-ling and Wan-ling. Their patience and understanding have always made the going less rough. Apart from looking after me and our daughters, Jung-kuei also, sometimes, helped me in typing, formatting and printing the thesis. I owe her much more than I can say.

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A note on orthography

Two alphabetical systems other than English are employed in this study. The first one is for Mandarin Chinese and the second one is for the Ami language.

There are different systems of Romanisation for Mandarin Chinese pronunciation, such as the Thomas Wade, the Yale, the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet and the Kwoyeu Romatzyh, which are more or less similar to English spellings. In this study the Yale system is used (cf. Liang *et al* ed., 1973). However for some place and personal names, I will follow the conventional usages, such as Taipei rather than Taibei. Apart from this, for authors whose works are cited in this study, their English name, if they have one, will be used. Furthermore, for reasons of brevity, the different tones in Chinese pronunciation will be ignored.

The spellings of Ami native words by previous researchers are diverse. However, since 1955, when the missionary linguist Edvard Torjesens moved to east Taiwan, the Evangelical Alliance Mission has done much research and translated the Christian bible into the Ami language. Now the Ami not only have a complete Ami bible but also have an Ami-Chinese-English dictionary (cf. Fey ed., 1986). So far as I know many Ami people, especially those from east coast Ami villages, of which Iwan is one, are familiar with this spelling system and regard it as their own writing in contrast to the Chinese characters which they have to learn in schools. In order to respect their preferences, I will follow this system in my study.

There are twenty-one letters in this system. Most of them, such as a, e, f, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, w and y, are pronounced similarly to English. However, some letters deserve special notice.

' - is a glottal stop, a stop of the flow of air in the throat.

c - is a consonant. It is pronounced ch before
the vowel i and is pronounced ts before the vowels a, e, and o.

d - has no equivalent sound in English. It is a fricative consonant, half l, half s.

g - is a velar nasal consonant. It is pronounced as ng in song.

h - has a heavy breath sound unlike English h. It is a glottal fricative consonant.

x - is a highly fricative sound made in the throat.

In this thesis most of the Ami words will be italicised except for the proper nouns, such as place names and personal names.

Introduction

1 Geography of Taiwan[1]

Taiwan, also known as Formosa[2], is an island between the Malay Archipelago and Japan. The island is about 217 miles north of the Philippines and 665 miles south of Japan. It is about 100 miles off the south-east coast of mainland China and separated from it by the Taiwan Strait. South-central Taiwan is bisected by the Tropic of Cancer.

The island is 250 miles long from north to south and about 90 miles across at the widest point. It covers an area of 13,835 square miles, about 75% of which consists of mountains and hills. The Central Mountain Range slopes gently to a broad and fertile plain in the west. In the east, the mountains descent precipitously to the Pacific, and only a few valleys are suitable for farming (see Map 1). The island's uplands are so extensive that only about a quarter of Taiwan is arable. Yushan (Mt. Jade) has an elevation of 12,966 feet and ranks as the highest peak in Northeast Asia. Forests are an important resource.

Taiwan's climate is subtropical. The average temperature is 22° C (72°F) in the north and 24.5°C (76°F) in the south. Rainfall is heavy, averaging 100 inches annually in the north. Local and seasonal variations are common. The north is usually

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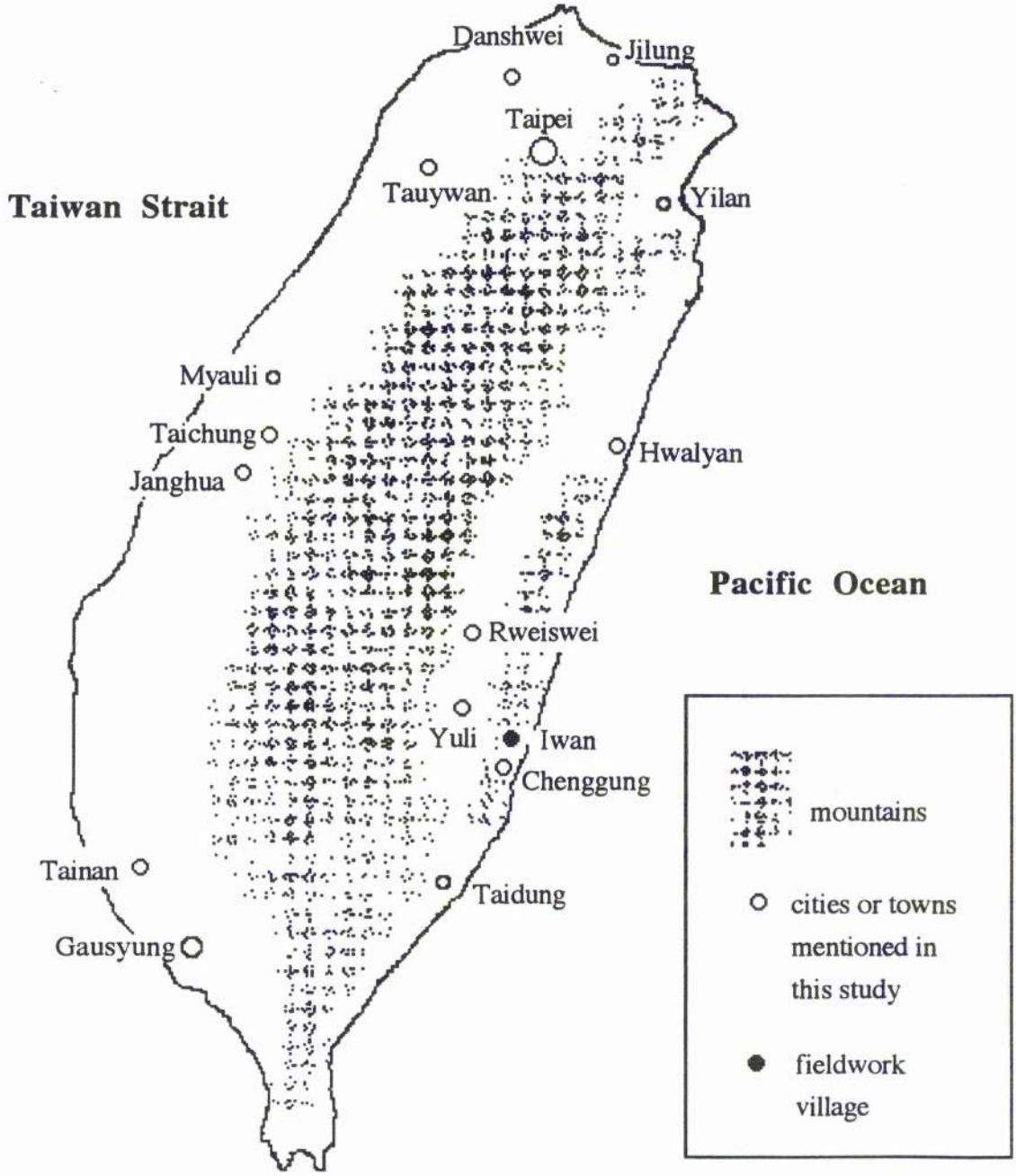
[1] In this section the information about Taiwan's geography is mainly based on Kwang Hwa Publishing Company (1989).

[2] When Portuguese mariners sailed along the shores of Taiwan in 1583, the vistas of green lowlands and the towering Central Mountain Range led them to describe the island as ilha formosa (beautiful island).

Map 1 Taiwan: major cities and location of fieldwork



rainy in the winter, and the south in the summer. Winter snows occur in the higher mountains.

2 A Chinese history of Taiwan

Although Taiwan became a protectorate of the Chinese Empire in 1206, settlers from mainland China did not begin to arrive in large numbers until the 17th Century.[3] According to an official Chinese view of Taiwanese history[4] Taiwan began to assume some importance in modern Asian history with the arrival of large numbers of Chinese settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries. The island gradually became a way station between the East Indies and Japan as the Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and English developed trade ties with eastern Asia.

About 100,000 Chinese settlers were living on the island when the Dutch arrived in southern Taiwan in 1624. At that time, the aborigines[5] were in the majority. The Han Chinese[6] who migrated to Taiwan were scattered among the aboriginal villages and most of them married into the aboriginal groups.

In 1626, two years after the Dutch, the Spanish arrived in northern Taiwan. By 1641, the Dutch had driven out the Spanish. After their occupation of Taiwan, the Dutch began to cultivate cash crops such as sugar cane, pepper and spices for trade to Europe. In order to do this, they recruited many Han Chinese from mainland China.

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[3] In this section the information about Taiwan's history is mainly based on S. Chen (1979) and Y. Huang (1988).

[4] See, for example, Kwang Hwa Publishing Company (1989).

[5] Here it refers to all the non-Han Chinese population. See next section for more information about Taiwanese aborigines.

[6] Han Chinese have been the dominant people in China ever since Chinese civilisation began. Today about 94% of the population in mainland China are Han Chinese.

After the Ming Dynasty was overthrown by the Manjou in 1644[7], Jeng Cheng-gung (better known as Koxinga in the West) established a foothold in Taiwan (1661). He hoped to use it as a base for the reoccupation of mainland China. The Dutch surrendered at Fort Zeelandia near present-day Tainan in southern Taiwan the next year. This action drew many Han Chinese to Taiwan in a move to oppose the rule of the Manjou emperor of the Ching government. From that time the Han Chinese became the majority in Taiwan.

In 1693 the Manjou empire conquered Taiwan and incorporated it into the territory of China. Much progress was made in agriculture, mining, transportation and education in the 18th and 19th centuries, and Taiwan was finally accorded provincial status in 1886. However, the rule of this Ching government in Taiwan was very weak. The Chinese inhabitants of Taiwan had to set up various organisations for mutual help and self-defence. At that time, although Taiwan had become a part of China, the local society in Taiwan remained autonomous to a degree.

Taiwan became a casualty of the first Sino-Japanese War. The Manjou ceded Taiwan to the Japanese in the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The Japanese occupied Taiwan from 1895 until the end of World War II. Since the Japanese colonial government took full charge of affairs concerned with security, health, education, social service, etc., social groups organised by the Taiwanese were weakened. As a result government power and various professional groups (or functional groups) became the major social forces for maintaining social order.

After World War II Taiwan returned to the hands of the Han Chinese under the Chinese Nationalist government. In 1949 after his defeat by the Communists in China, Chiang Kai-shek (leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party) and nearly two million of his followers retreated to Taiwan and martial law was imposed. After 1966 industrial production began to exceed agricultural production in Taiwan and since then, according

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[7] In terms of population, Manjou is one of the major minority groups in China. However, they smashed the Ming government, whose emperors were Han Chinese, and formed the Ching government (in 1644) which lasted until it was overthrown in 1911.

to Y. Huang (1988:31), the capitalist market economy has become increasingly dominant. The inequalities between capitalists and workers and the power struggle between the Chinese who were born in Taiwan[8] and those who came to the island after 1949 have become more significant since the 1970s. This has led to social and political movements demanding social reform and the redistribution of power and economic profit. In 1987 martial law was finally lifted by the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party and democratic procedures were introduced (cf. Hong,1994). At the beginning of 1988, Li Teng-huei, a Chinese who was born in Taiwan, replaced Chiang Jing-gwo, a son of Chiang Kai-shek, as the president of the country and the leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party. This epitomises the transition of power from the mainland Chinese to the Taiwanese within the government and the ruling party in the past twenty years.

3 Taiwanese aborigines

According to official records, the population of Taiwan reached 19.9 million in 1988 (Kwang Hwa Publishing Company,1989). Most of today's inhabitants are descendants of Han Chinese from mainland China. The same document records 332,000 aborigines living in Taiwan, which is less than 1.7% of the total population. Furthermore the population density was more than 550 people per square kilometre in 1991, about twice that of Britain. These facts about the population are important in understanding the lives of modern Taiwanese aborigines.

Before the arrival of the Chinese from mainland China, there were different aboriginal groups living in Taiwan. After a long period of contact, the Ching governors classified the aborigines into two main categories: "plains aborigines" (ping pu dzu) and "mountain aborigines" (gau shan dzu).[9] The plains aborigines, who were

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[8] In order to differentiate themselves from those who came to Taiwan after 1949, many of them tend to see themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese.

[9] See J. Wang (1967:1) for more information.

further divided into ten groups, lived mainly in the plains areas of the south-west, west, north and north-east parts of Taiwan. On the other hand, the mountain aborigines, who were divided into nine different groups, lived mainly in the central mountains and eastern Taiwan. During the Ching rule (1693-1895), probably because of the similarity between their social systems and those of the Chinese, and their close contact with the Chinese, the plains aborigines were more sinicized than the mountain aborigines. They became known as "cooked aborigines" (Wen,1957:58) in contrast to the mountain aborigines who were called "raw aborigines" (*ibid.*:148)[10]. Nowadays almost all the plains aborigines have been absorbed into Chinese society and only the mountain aborigines are officially recognised by the government as aborigines. Henceforth, I will use aborigines to refer to the mountain aborigines (or raw aborigines) only.[11]

Taiwanese aboriginal peoples belong to the Malay-Polynesian family in terms of physical features, language and socio-cultural characteristics (T. Mabuchi, 1960). The nine aboriginal groups are: Ami, Atayal, Bunon, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Siasiyat, Tsou, and the Yami. Their original distribution, before urban migration, is shown in Map 2.[12]

Although the total population of the various aboriginal groups is quite small at the present time, the ancestors of the aborigines settled in Taiwan long before the Han Chinese migrated to the island. This is why some aboriginal elites justify their claim for special treatment with such statements as: "We are the original inhabitants of Taiwan, the only people who could be called 'Taiwanese', but in order not to be used

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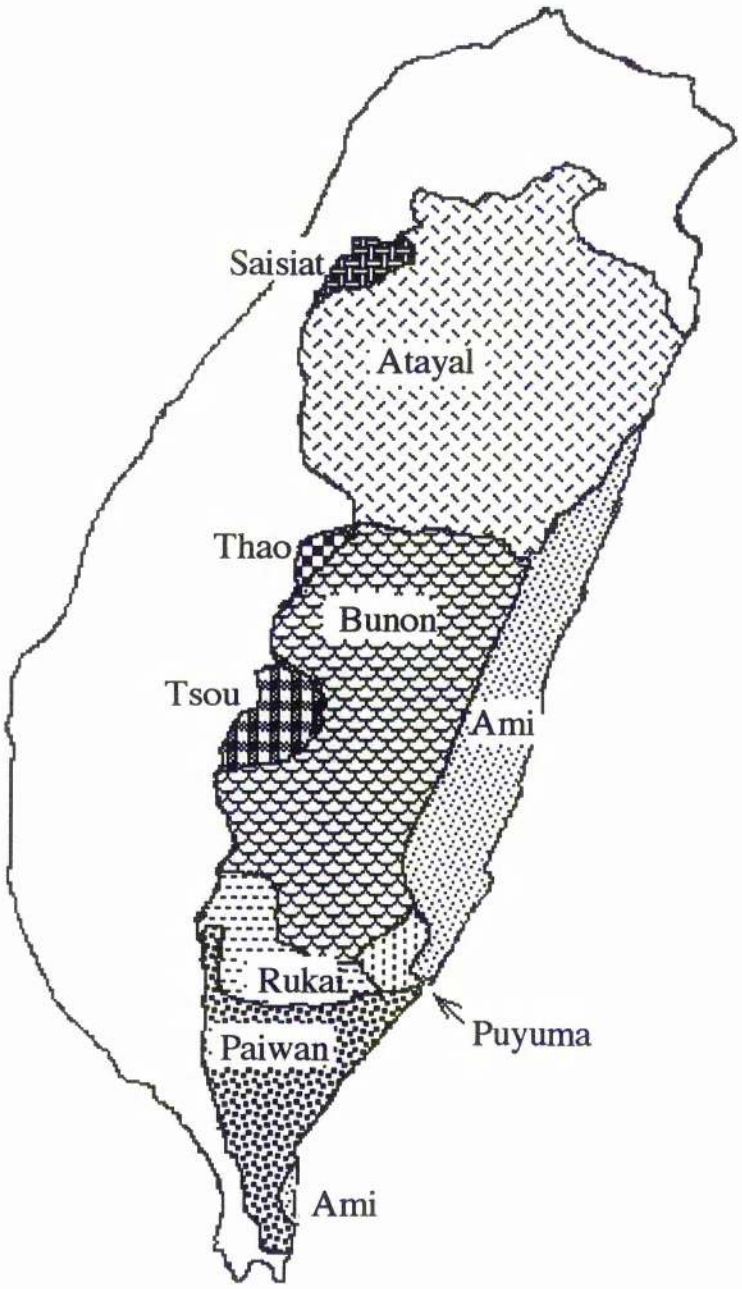
10 "Cooked aborigines" (shou fan) and "raw aborigines" (sheng fan) are literal translations from the Chinese. They have nothing to do with Lévi-Strauss.

11 Shan bau (lit. mountain-people) was an official term coined by the Nationalist government. In 1983, some aborigines began forming socio-political movements (Hsieh,1987) which used a new term yuan ju min (aborigines). This new name has been adopted by the government recently (1994). However, many Chinese still think that the aborigines were originally migrants from other Pacific areas who settled in Taiwan before the Chinese. Therefore, according to these Chinese, the aborigines should not be called yuan ju min (which implies natives in Chinese), rather another term syan ju min (earlier settlers) should be used.

12 Except for the Yami, who inhabit Orchid Island, off the southern tip of Taiwan.

Map 2 Distribution of the Taiwanese aboriginal groups



by the ruling party to attack the opposition party we would like ourselves to be called 'aborigines'"[13] (Lin,1989:219-233).

As Hsu (1991) observes attitudes towards aborigines in contemporary Taiwan are based on a lack of understanding. However, this tendency is related more to culture than to race. There is no caste-like social segregation, but there is a concern with the 'primitive' versus 'civilised' cultural identification. Government policy toward minorities has encouraged assimilation. Aborigines in Taiwan are granted a high priority in receiving special educational benefits for attending college. They can be admitted to a university with lower than standard academic qualifications and may also be given free tuition. These beneficial policies, however, do not totally neutralise the negative stereotypes of aborigines that are held by the majority population. The majority still views aborigines as uneducated, prone to drinking, and generally uncivilised. The term fan, meaning barbarian, is usually used by Chinese in Taiwan to refer to aborigines.

4 Earlier studies about the Ami

In 1896, shortly after the Japanese army had taken control of the eastern part of Taiwan, a Japanese anthropologist Torii started a preliminary survey of the aborigines in eastern Taiwan which included the Ami (Liu,1975). Before mass migration to urban areas started in the 1970s, most of the Ami were living in the Taidung Valley and on the eastern shoreboard of Taiwan (J. Wang,1967), and therefore they made contact with the Han Chinese much earlier than most of the other aboriginal groups, who were living in mountain areas. Early contact with Han Chinese and sinicized aborigines

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[13] National identity is a very sensitive issue in Taiwan (cf. Stafford,1994). Although many Taiwanese have a strong Chinese identity which is the basic platform of the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party, some local people prefer a Taiwanese identity and try to replace the present official title Republic of China with Republic of Taiwan. The attitude of the aboriginal elites is a reflection of the political atmosphere.

(ping pu dzu) produced certain opportunities. Some Ami villages (especially those near Taidung and Hwalyan) had already changed from rain-fed millet agriculture to wet paddy agriculture at least a hundred years before.

The Ami, the largest group among Taiwanese aborigines[14], have developed distinctive forms of traditional social organisation in terms of village patterns, age-group organisation, and kinship organisation. These patterns show many local variations among Ami villages, but nonetheless a number of common features can be found. Based on my own work (S. Huang,1989), I suggest that there were four common features.

a. The village was the largest unit of traditional Ami social organisation. It supervised the collective activities of defence, cultivation, fishing and hunting. It was also the largest judicial body which organised some community rituals in traditional social life. In other words, each village was an independent political body and there were no hierarchical relations between any two villages.

b. The household, which was usually headed by a female, formed the basic unit of the traditional Ami kinship organisation. All the members of a household lived together, ate together, worked together and used the same stove for cooking which symbolised the unity of the household. The property of the household, such as the house, tools and cooking equipment and other provisions, were shared by all its members.

c. Beyond the household level there are many disagreements on the nature of traditional Ami kinship organisation, partly owing to local variations, partly owing to the theoretical bias of scholars.[15] However, when two households had kinship

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[14] In 1989 the total population of the Ami was about 130,000 (Hsu,1991:29).

[15] In the past most scholars were of the opinion that matrilineal descent was the basic principle of traditional Ami society (Li,1957; Wei *et al*,1965; Liu *et al*,1965; Yuan,1969; Yamaji,1980). But recently some studies take the household as the fundamental unit for understanding this society and see post-marital residence rules purely as the mechanism for deciding one's membership of a kinship group (Suenari,1983; W. Chen,1987).

relations, usually they would help each other in specific rituals (e.g. funeral) and other activities.

d. Adult males in a traditional Ami village were organised in an age-group organisation. Almost all of the public affairs of the village were arranged by the age-groups. As only men, through ceremonial initiation, could join this group it is obvious that women were excluded from the formal political proceedings of a village. In addition women were forbidden to enter the men's house which was the centre of the age-group organisation and the most important place in the village.

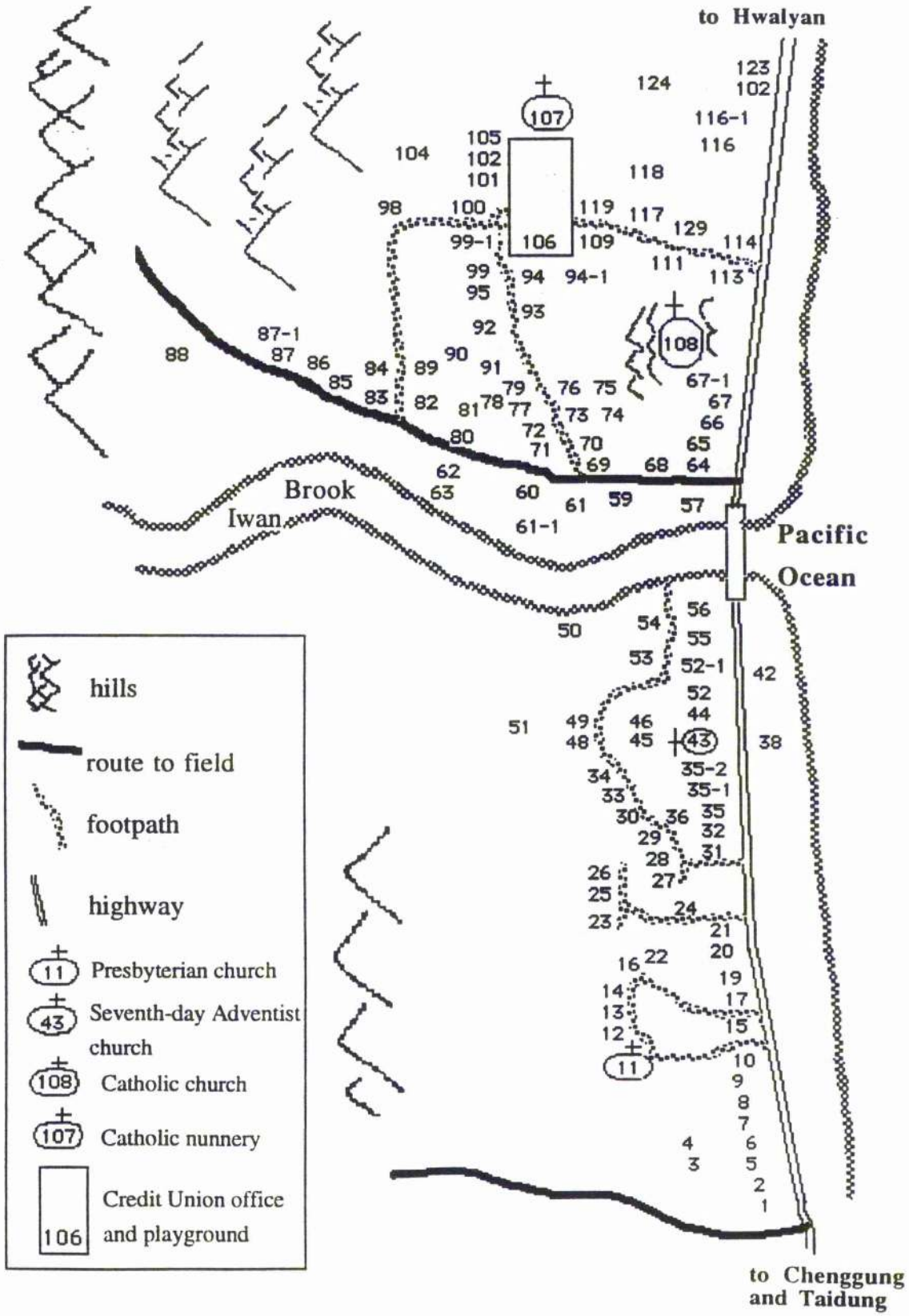
5 Iwan, an Ami village

Iwan village, in front of the Coastal Mountains and facing the Pacific Ocean, is located in Chenggung Township, Taidung County (see Map 1). Around 1865, a group of Ami founded this village. According to folk stories, the founders came from some northern Ami villages, such as Makuta'ay, Kiwit, and Chukangan, to avoid attack by Atayal and Bunon aboriginal groups.

About five kilometres to the north of Iwan, there is an Ami village Ta'man. To the south, about three kilometres, there is another Ami village Tomi'ac. Iwan and Tomi'ac constitute an administrative unit (li) which is called Boai Li. The li office and the local primary school are located in Tomi'ac. The current li head is held by an Ami from Tomi'ac. He receives about £100 per month, free telephone and free newspaper from the township government. In terms of administration Iwan and Ta'man belong to different units therefore their relation is not as close as that between Iwan and Tomi'ac.

Inside Iwan the households are divided into eight neighbourhoods (lin). Each neighbourhood has a lin head who is elected by all citizens living in the same unit. Lin heads receive about £10 a month from local township government. They also get free newspapers.

Map 3 Households of village Iwan



At the end of December 1988, according to the household registration of the local government, there were 112 households in Iwan. A hundred and three household heads were Ami and of the remaining nine household heads, three were Hakka Han Chinese[16] and the other six were Chinese veterans who came from mainland China after 1949[17]. At the same time about 80% of the Ami villagers were Catholics, 15% were Presbyterians and 5% went to the Seventh-day Adventist church. All the Chinese villagers were non-Christians.

There are three grocery stores in the village owned by the three Hakka Han Chinese households. Although almost every household has a small patch of paddy on which it used to grow rice, rice cultivation was totally abandoned several years ago. Nowadays almost all the household income comes from the wages of the able-bodied young people working outside the village, especially in northern or western Taiwan. Except at festivals, only the elderly and minors are to be seen in the village, as is the case in most others in rural Taiwan. This is an indication of the extent to which the Ami in Iwan have been absorbed into the mainstream economic system of Taiwan.

6 Fieldwork in Iwan

My Ami study began in September 1982, when I joined a six-year project, studying "Oral Literature among the Yami and the Ami". Two native researchers joined this project. One of them was Kuei-chau Huang (Lifok is his Ami name), who worked with me in collecting oral literature[18].

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16 Hakka is a dialect of the Chinese language. Its speakers are the second biggest group in Taiwan, next to the speakers of the Fukien dialect. The three Hakka households in Iwan were: no.52, no.71 and no.91 (see Map 3). All of them still live in Iwan.

17 These six households were no.1, no.49, no.59, no.74, no.78 and no.114. Except no.59, which has moved to western Taiwan and left its house empty, the remaining five households still live in Iwan.

18 This project was sponsored by the National Science Council and directed by Professor Ping-hsiung Liu of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica. After the funds from the National Science Council

Between 1982 and 1988 Lifok and I travelled among Ami villages and recorded folk stories narrated by old people. Lifok also transcribed the stories into Romanised Ami script, and I helped him to translate them into Chinese. During this period, in addition to the oral literature project, I also joined three research projects organised by the Institute of Ethnology, between 1983 and 1988. Those were: 1) Traditional Societies and Human Rights among the Aborigines in Taiwan; 2) The Rituals, Songs, and Dances among Taiwanese Aborigines; 3) The Medical Systems of Aborigines in Taiwan. In relation to these projects, I have conducted several short-term fieldwork studies among the Ami, on the eastern coast of Taiwan, particularly in Iwan village.[19] In terms of general knowledge about the Ami, I benefited a great deal from these projects.

My main fieldwork in Iwan began in mid-July 1986. Under the project of "The Rituals, Songs, and Dances among Taiwanese Aborigines", I decided to come back with Lifok to his home village for a long-term study. He brought me to stay with his natal family and introduced me to his own clan (*gasaw*)[20]. I spent two and half a months in Iwan between July 1986 and June 1987 for this project. During this period I lived with Wusay and her husband Apo'. He (born 1934) is originally from Madawdaw (an Ami village near Chenggung) and married Wusay in 1974. Apo' appears well suited to his job as the cook for the Swiss priest Ontok. Compared with her husband, who can not speak Chinese, Wusay (born 1948) is younger and more active in the village, both in her kin group (Cilagasan clan) [21] and in the Catholic

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ran out, the Institute of Ethnology supported this project for another three years up to August 1988. The other native researcher worked with Professor Liu. They were working on the Yami. In the second stage (1985-8), in addition to Lifok, three other Ami researchers joined us on a part-time basis.

19 I have also done short-term fieldwork in Kiwit and Kinaluka to study religious conversion and human rights respectively.

20 *Gasaw* is an important kind of kin group among the coastal Ami. Many scholars translate it as matrilineal clan but I hesitate to agree with them (see Chapter 2).

21 There are eleven clans in Iwan and Cilagasan is one of them. Incidentally Cilagasan clan have adopted a Chinese family name which is the same as mine (Huang) since 1946, that made it easier for me to be accepted by them.

Church. Most of the people, such as Asala and Maro' (see section 8), I got to know in Iwan on my first visit were introduced to me by Wusay and Lifok. I also got to know S. H. Sung (a retired Chinese soldier and the li head of Boai Li then) because he lives close to Wusay's house.

There were six retired Chinese soldiers in Iwan and Sung was one of them. Sung arrived in Iwan from mainland China in 1950, and a few years later he married an Iwan girl. He retired and settled in Iwan in 1960. Although he could not speak Ami he was very keen to take part in Ami activities. In 1978-89 Sung was elected as the li head of Boai Li. This became a great source of pride for him but I knew that many Ami people did not like him at all.

In 1950s the Chinese Nationalist government in Taiwan began to ban the use of Japanese on formal occasions. After 1960 all public workers were asked to use Mandarin in the office. This effectively isolated the Ami from political processes because there were no Chinese speaking Ami at that time. This legislation meant that the Ami had to elect non-Ami into the positions of the li head in order that they could be represented to the Chinese authorities.

After that, I visited Iwan from time to time and tried to attend the major social events there as often as possible. When I was staying in Taipei, I contacted Lifok regularly. In 1988, Lifok showed me his diary and let me photocopy it. Because he was one of the Ami assistants to the Swiss priest in Iwan Catholic Parish between 1958-1973, his diary provided me with an insider's perspective on the Ami's religious change.

In August 1989 I organised a project to study Ami society (S. Huang *et al*, 1991). I invited Lifok and two other persons to join it. I spent about six months in Iwan and Lifok, Maro' and Asala were my key informants. The purpose of this project was to collect general ethnographic data regarding historical background, social organisation, cosmology, ritual system and so on. A complete land registration and household members' registration data were also collected from the local government

offices in Chenggung. This project ended in June 1990 just before my leaving for St. Andrews for further study.

I came back to Taiwan between September 1992 and August 1993 and during this period, I stayed seven and a half months in Iwan. In previous fieldwork, I always lived with Wusay and Apo', so I got know the northern part of Iwan much better than the southern part. At first my aim was to live in a Presbyterian household preferably in south Iwan but following Lifok's advice I did not attempt to fulfil this goal because had I lived with Presbyterians I could have angered my friends (including Wusay) as they would perceived my action as one of betrayal, especially as I was treated as a member of the Cilagasan clan which is predominantly Catholic. As a compromise, I stayed in another Cilagasan household (no. 32, in south Iwan) to extend my personal network and tried to attend the major ritual activities of both the Presbyterians and the Catholics. Akiyo is the householder of no. 32 and she lives with Dipon, her husband, who married into Iwan from Ta'man. In 1970s Dipon became a voluntary apostle[22] in the Catholic church and in 1989 he became the head of the village (*komog*). In some contexts, Dipon is described as the head of his household. Here we have an interesting contrast between Apo' and Dipon. Dipon is seen as being stronger, more experienced and generally able to impress his opinion upon his wife. For these reasons he is often recognised as the head of his household. Whereas Apo' who is less energetic and forceful is never seen as the head of his household, he must always defer to his wife. Charisma of which Dipon has plenty, is a very important factor in gaining and maintaining a position of authority.

Dipon's influence in the village helped me to gain access to the working of Iwan Credit Union, the Catholic Church and the nunnery. Up until the end of 1992 my research was concentrated on the Catholic villagers and I got to know Dafak (see section 8) and C. M. Huang very well.

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[22] Voluntary apostle is a literal translation of a Chinese term i u sh tu. There are four voluntary apostles in Iwan but Dipon is the most important one. (See Chapter 8 for more information.)

C. M. Huang's attitude towards the Ami is typical among the Taiwanese who live in Iwan. He was born in 1926 in south Taiwan, of a Hakka Chinese family. He first moved to Iwan from Chenggung in 1980 when his wife's father died. His father-in-law was the owner of the first shop in Iwan and C. M. Huang took over the running of that shop which he still runs today.

Among the Ami it is well known that C. M. Huang looks down upon the 'uncivilised' Ami and for this reason many Ami do not use his shop. Recently C. M. Huang has found his business in Iwan more and more difficult to run, with the result that he has been actively trying to establish a network of Ami clients through friendship with men like Dafak. C. M. Huang and his wife often told me that, as a fellow Chinese, I should not take the religion of the Ami seriously as it is not a Chinese religion.

Unfortunately my association with Dipon and Akiyo[23] made it difficult for me to make inroads into the Presbyterian community. After several unsuccessful attempts to establish informal and friendly relations with the Presbyterians I struck upon the idea of utilising Akiyo's kinship relations to facilitate entry into the Presbyterian community. I began to visit Akiyo's cousin Kacaw who had married into a Presbyterian family. In contrast to Dipon, Kacaw is very shy and retiring and is dominated by his wife Dogi who is a devout Presbyterian and is very keen to talk about her religion. Dogi is the treasurer of the church and through her I got to meet Holikawa (see section 8), her brother, who is the only Presbyterian church elder. After I had cemented these contacts with the Presbyterian congregation they began to invite me to join their worships at Sunday services and on the Prayer Mountain (see section 7.4).

I knew that Dipon felt threatened by my mixing with the Presbyterians as it could be constructed as evidence of his lack of authority over his household which included me. However, I also knew that Akiyo had told Dipon, in my defence, that I was conducting research and therefore I had to socialise with the Presbyterian

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[23] In October 1992 they formally adopted me as their son in a family meeting.

community. After this incident, I noticed a slight change in Dipon's attitude towards me.

In order to understand the general condition of Iwan emigrants in the urban areas, particularly their religious life, I paid visits to Gausyung once, Janghua once and Tauywan twice. While I was staying in Taipei, where my Institute is located, I took an opportunity to visit some Iwan families who were living in Taipei.[24]

As a Taiwanese anthropologist, my role may seen ambiguous for my informants in some contexts. This ambiguity not only stems from my membership of the dominant group but also from my academic background. In Taiwan, academia is seen as a source of authority. Academics are used by the government to provide legitimation for its policies and they also play an active role as spokespersons for subordinated groups (I. Cheng, 1992).

In addition to its own research grant, many research projects of the Institute of Ethnology are sponsored by government bodies. The research project studying "Rituals, Songs and Dances among the Taiwanese Aborigines" in which I participated, was sponsored by the provincial government. Apart from anthropologists from my Institute, an ethnomusicologist from the Taidung Normal University, a choreographer from the National College of Arts and a professional photographer were also included. The aim of the project was to preserve and record a disappearing culture of the aborigines.[25] The researchers were expected to collect useful data for an exhibition and folkloristic performances in the Exhibition Area of Aboriginal Cultures (an outdoor museum run by the provincial government). In projects like this, the government and the academics work together to decide what is the content of aboriginal culture and which of its elements are worth preserving. In 1988, the National College of Arts launched another project: its staff and students learnt the songs and dances of *ilisin*

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[24] However, my knowledge of Ami' life in urban areas is still very limited.

[25] The rationale for this kind of study is that many people, including both Chinese and Ami, worry that the aborigines have borrowed so many Chinese cultural elements that they are in danger of disappearing. This underlies the way many people view aboriginal people's culture as a "bounded thing-like system" (cf. Linnekin,1992).

(Ami's new year ceremony) with the assistance of two Ami from Iwan. Later, they held an island-wide performance. This made the Ami people, especially those from Iwan, very proud of their performing arts.

No wonder that during my fieldwork in Iwan, the Ami sometimes treated me as a representative of the central government and expected me to have influence on local policy and affairs. Obviously this is an ethical problem every anthropologist has to face and I dealt with it by trying to avoid being associated with government authorities.

Part One of this thesis, from Chapter 1 to Chapter 4, is mainly based on the data collected between 1986 and 1990. Part Two and Part Three, from Chapter 5 to Chapter 8, are mainly based on the fieldwork between 1992 and 1993.

7 Main concern of this study

In the 1950s, shortly after the Chinese Nationalist government took over control of the island, most of the aborigines in Taiwan converted to Christianity. Nowadays a variety of Christian churches play an important role in aboriginal societies. The growth of Christianity among the aborigines after 1945 was so rapid that many people called it a "Twentieth Century Miracle" (Tong, 1961; Vérineux, 1980; M. Wu, 1978).

Other studies have analysed conversion to Christianity in other societies, such as in the Pacific islands (Campbell,1989; Keesing,1982a&b), Africa (Boahen,1987; Comaroff,1985; Peel,1968b) and in the Arctic region (Riches,1982), where the process of Christian conversion usually accompanied Western colonisation. What is interesting in the Taiwanese aboriginal case is that conversion took place and is still taking place at a time when they are governed by Chinese (and for a period by Japanese) rather than by

the Europeans. And while many aborigines have converted to Christianity, most of the Han Chinese are non-Christians.[26]

Existing studies of the reasons behind the Ami's conversion to Christianity or the dynamics of religious change and continuity among them tend to see the Ami people as passive recipients rather than as active meaning-makers (e.g. Shih,1975&1986; S. Huang,1986). In this study I suggest that although socio-economic systems are relevant to religion, it is individuals that attribute meanings to the process of religious conversion.

One of the most important aspects of Christianity is that upon arrival in Iwan the missionaries did not directly interfere with village politics. The reception of Christianity in Iwan has to be viewed in the light of the Ami's colonial experience. As for the rest of Ami villages, Iwan's major colonial encounter was with the Japanese. These colonials arrived in eastern Taiwan in 1896 and immediately took over the political organisation of the area including Iwan. Under force the village was moved, weapons were confiscated and Japanese religion was introduced. Similarly, when the Japanese left and the Chinese Nationalists arrived in 1945, a new form of political regime was installed. In an Ami view the association of both Japanese and Chinese religion with particular colonial regimes led the Ami to reject these religions as they rejected the colonial intrusion into village political affairs. This is where Christianity appeared radically different. It was a religion but it had no direct involment in the colonial administration. Because it did not reorganise village politics, Christianity became the most significant way of talking about village politics.

Throughout their history the Ami have maintained the principle that if an individual wants to be successful then they must acknowledge some form of god. For the Ami belief in some form of god is not a matter of choice, it is part of life. Good health and success in life were, and still are, seen as the signs of a good relationship

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[26] According to statistics (Barrett ed.,1982:235), in mid-1970 51.4% of the population in Taiwan were Chinese folk-religionists and 41.0% were Buddhists. At the same time, the total number of Christians in Taiwan was 943,000, only 6.7% of the total population.

with god(s). Although the gods permeate all aspects of life, in an Ami context they are particularly associated with abnormality. That is to say, any marked success or failure will be seen as the work of the gods. The worship of gods was the path to a successful life, and for the Ami a successful life was, and is, based upon good health and material plenty. Religion has always provided the Ami with an idiom for talking about success and failure.

In this context it could be argued that conversion concerns the arrival, from outside, of certain words (e.g. Jesus), objects (e.g. bible) and practices (e.g. mass). However, the meanings, functions, purposes and aims imputed to religion by converts are arrived at through internal processes. I suggest that the adoption of Christianity is most clearly understood from a perspective of internal political relations.

Central to this study is the basic assumption that all human beings are meaning-users and that they act in a rational way. Rather than taking a positivistic approach, I adopt an interpretative approach in this study. In other words, rather than seeking to explain "the behaviour of a society" I intend to study "the behaviour of individuals in a society" (cf. Peel, 1968b:18). Thus, the meaning of social action is focused on the intentions of individuals and the relations between leaders and followers are an important aspect of social life. The study will centre upon individuals as meaning-users and the ways in which they manipulate cultural resources to achieve various goals.

I wish to utilise the concept of articulation[27] in order to describe the ways in which leaders bring together different cultural resources in order to claim or maintain positions of authority. As Comaroff (1985:153) says, the construct of articulation has two denotations in English, "to join together" and "to give expression to". She uses this concept to imply the multi-level process of engagement which follows the conjuncture of socio-cultural systems. It thus permits her to view the joining of distinct systems, themselves dynamic orders of practice and meaning, into a unitary formation,

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27 Here articulation carries no Marxian connotations. It is chiefly concerned with human creativity. Therefore anything within the scope of Ami knowledge can be manipulated, interpreted and moulded into a noval articulation which can be use for social gain.

the novel product of particular historical circumstances. Therefore, the meaning of each individual conversion can only be found in terms of each individual's own interest. I suggest that not only political leaders had special motives (i.e. to pursue political power) in conversion, but also the ordinary people had their own interests too (i.e. to pursue a better life in the future).[28]

There is not yet a systematic study of the articulation of Christianity into Ami society(cf. Chu,1990). Nowadays Ami villages resemble rural Taiwanese villages. For example, most houses are built of cement in a western style and most of the inhabitants are elders or minors as almost all the able-bodied have gone to urban areas to earn wages. I shall argue that through adherence to certain traditional cultural elements (among Catholics) and the use of Ami language (among Presbyterians), the Ami can still express their cultural identity against a social background which is dominated by Chinese influence. However, I also argue that concepts like Christianity and tradition are not fixed or static; they are the subjects of the articulations adopted by leaders in their pursuit of power, prestige and material benefits.[29]

8 Key informants

Asala

In this study I describe Asala as an influential man, who has played a crucial role in articulating Ami experience since 1950s. Through his skills he has been able to maintain his position as the treasurer of the Iwan Credit Union for more than twenty years, and as this post is probably the most important, in terms of internal Iwan affairs, his ability to keep his job and hold off rivals is clear evidence of the status he holds.

Asala was born in Iwan in 1920 and like all his Ami peers went to the local primary school. When he left primary school he was one of the few from Iwan who

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28 This will be discussed in chapter 6 and 7.

29 This will be discussed in Chapter 8.

attended a secondary school (in Taidung) which specialised in agriculture. Asala's parents were able to pay for their son's education with the money they made selling rice. In 1939 after leaving school, Asala went to work on a Japanese plantation growing camphor. In 1941 he was able to take advantage of the Japanese plans to expand aboriginal education and became a teacher in a primary school for aborigine children. As the Japanese administration expanded, it sought the services of native speaking indigenous people, and in 1942 Asala got a job in the Chenggung office of the Japanese government as an agricultural adviser to the Ami. Through his position in the Japanese administration Asala gained a lot of knowledge of local administration and he had a lot of influence over Ami affairs. When the Japanese left Taiwan in 1945 Asala returned to Iwan as a farmer under the new Chinese rule. In 1948 Asala was one of the elected administrative heads of the five neighbourhoods (lin) in Iwan. Shortly afterwards Asala began an association with the Presbyterian church, which culminated in his baptism in 1953. In 1951 Asala was elected as the li head of the Boai Li that included Iwan and Tomi'ac. This move increased his influence over Iwan affairs. In 1965 Asala's career took a new direction with his conversion to Catholicism. This conversion paved the way for Asala to become the treasurer of the Iwan Credit Union in 1972.

Asala is recognised as being a source of expert knowledge about the past. He has kept a diary (in Japanese) since about 1940 and is often called upon, at large gatherings, to talk about village history. He can speak Japanese and Ami but he has never learnt Chinese. So nowadays he often has difficulties dealing with young people from outside the Ami area. For this reason he has concentrated his affairs, more recently, on internal affairs about which he is a recognised authority.

Maro'

Maro' is an active woman in Iwan and a close ally of Asala. She was born in Iwan in 1949. When she was young she expressed a desire to be a Catholic nun and as a result she was sent to St.John B. Catechist School in Taidung. When she left school

she returned to Iwan as an assistant of the Catholic priest in the church, a post she held for about three years. She gave up her work in the church when she got married to a man who has had a series of very well paid jobs. Maro' is still very active in the Catholic church, often organising singing for weddings etc. This combined with her wealth has made her a popular figure in Iwan. As a female Maro' cannot be a village head but she is spoken about as the first ever female candidate for the head of Boai Li , and she may well attain this position in the future.

Maro' married into the same clan as Asala and as a result the two come into contact frequently. Maro' has become an unofficial pupil of Asala, taking every opportunity to learn about the village history and the pre-Christian life of the Ami. Maro's political ambitions have been curtailed by her husband who prevented her standing in the elections for head of Boai Li in 1994.

Dipon

Dipon's relations with Asala are not so close as that between Asala and Maro'. Dipon was born in 1932 in Ta'man, an Ami village to the north of Iwan. He joined the Chinese Nationalist army in 1946 and fought with communists in mainland China until 1948. He learnt Mandarin Chinese at that period of time. He became a voluntary apostle in the mid 1970s and was elected as village head in 1989. Although Asala supported Dipon in that election their relations did not significantly improve. Asala, Maro' and Dipon are seen by many village as the most influential people in Iwan.

Lifok

Compared with Asala, Maro' and Dipon who live in Iwan, Lifok stays most of his time outside the village and he only comes back occasionally. Lifok was born in 1932 during Japanese colonial rule. After six years primary school education he worked as a servant for a Japanese governor in Chenggung. His fellow villagers took this as a sign that he was very clever and that one day the governor might help him to pursue a professional career. Unfortunately he caught poliomyelitis (infantile paralysis)

when he was 13 and had to come back to Iwan. At that time the Ami dealt with their illnesses through healing rituals which were conducted by traditional healers. The healers of Iwan failed to cure Lifok and he was bedridden until 1953 when, upon the suggestion of a Presbyterian missionary, he underwent surgery in Taidung. In Lifok's view his sickness had two main consequences. Firstly, during this long stay in bed, when he was still a teenager, he heard many traditional Ami stories and as a result his knowledge of Ami language rapidly increased until he knew more than any of his peers. Similarly his illness provided him with an opportunity to study Chinese and Japanese and he is recognised as an expert, by the Ami in these languages. Lifok's skills in Japanese enabled him to help a Japanese anthropologist, Satoru Mabuchi, with his research project. It was through Mabuchi's recommendation that Lifok began work on the project that I was involved in and we became friends.

Secondly, Lifok found that, as a result of his deformity (he could only walk with walking-sticks) he could not find a girl who would marry him. He was seen as a poor producer as he could not farm and could not find employment. Because he was denied a normal life he sought comfort from the newly arrived Presbyterian church.[30] With no family life and no job Lifok was able to put a lot of energy into the church, where he added to his knowledge of music and learnt to read and write the Ami language. Lifok converted to Roman Catholicism in 1958 and became an assistant of the European priest in Iwan soon after.[31] In this role Lifok became an influential member of the Iwan community. He has written many Ami songs and recorded and filmed many aspects of Ami life.

In the early 1970s, television was introduced into Iwan and many people preferred watching T.V to listening to Lifok preach. In 1973, Lifok's mother died and so he had to cook and care for himself. Lifok found life in Iwan difficult without his mother's help and he went to Taipei to work in a garment factory until we met and

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30 Information from Lifok's diary.

31 He received his formal training between 1964 and 1967 in St. John B. Catechist School in Taidung.

worked together in 1983. In 1989, he began to work in the East Coast National Scenic Area (a branch of Tourism Bureau of central government) as a native expert. Nowadays when Lifok returns to Iwan he lives with his cousin Wusay's family. Generally speaking he is still highly respected as a wise and skilled man by the Catholics of Iwan. On the other hand he is disliked by the village's Presbyterians because he betrayed them and their faith.

Dafak

Although Dafak is not an influential figure in Iwan today many villagers, especially among the younger generations, describe him as a potential village leader. Dafak was born in 1944 in Iwan. He went to a local primary school but was able to attend a private high school in Taipei. The money for his education came mostly from his parents but he also took jobs to add to his income. After he had left school and done his military service[32] he opened a telephone assembly factory with two friends. Dafak got the money to start the business from a Chinese girl friend whose parents were quite rich. In 1973 this business went bankrupt and Dafak returned to Iwan and began to dive for tropical fish, an occupation that quickly earned him a good wage. In 1975 Dafak was baptised as Catholic. His entry into Christianity was quite late because he spent many years in Taipei where the pressure to join a religion is much less. After marrying an Ami girl in 1978 he was one the first to build a concrete house in Iwan of which he is still very proud. At about the same time he got work in Chenggung at the fisheries laboratory. He has continued in this well-paid job and was elected as the lin head of his neighbourhood in Iwan.

Dafak's popularity has been built on his economic success and his reputation as a brave man. He is one of the youngest men who knows how to hunt in a traditional way. But recent events have resulted in Dafak being ostracised by most villagers. In 1993 Dafak began publicly practising Chinese religion. This move immediately led to a

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32 In order to defend itself from Chinese communist Taiwan has maintained a strong army since 1949. All abled-body men have to do military service for at least two years.

change in his status with few people visiting or acknowledging him. When this happened Dafak busied himself producing a large family tree (about six generations deep) which he used to demonstrate his relatedness to people within, and outside, the village. Since his rejection Dafak has been very keen to take part in kinship activities where he can emphasise his kin-ties to the other villagers.

Holikawa

While the majority villagers are Catholics there are some Presbyterians in Iwan and Holikawa is their leader. Holikawa was born in 1921 in Iwan and had the same kind of education as Asala, until he entered the Japanese army in 1941. When he returned to Iwan after the war he became a Presbyterian and quickly established himself as a very devout church-goer. Although his wife's family still used pre-Christian religion Holikawa followed his mother and his sisters when they entered the Presbyterian community. This caused friction between Holikawa and his wife's family which resulted in his wife's joining him as a Presbyterian and the two of them splitting from his wife's family's household. In 1950 he was elected as one of the two church elders by the Presbyterian congregation. At that time Presbyterianism was very popular but since 1957 the Presbyterian congregation has drastically decreased.

Although Holikawa is a very well respected within the Presbyterian community he is not generally admired by the Catholic majority. When he speaks at kinship gatherings, either in his own clan (Sadipogan) or his wife's clan (Ci'okakay), many people just mock him or ignore him altogether.

In this study I shall concentrate on the different articulations and strategies of these six informants. I understand that informants' statements about the past have a political context, that is they exist as part of an on-going dialogue, within the Ami community concerning the relationship between present states of affairs and the past. It is worthwhile to point out that all such kinds of data about *kawas* (supernatural beings), *paysin* (taboos) and *lisin* (rituals) of the pre-Christian Ami, which will be illustrated in

the first part of this thesis, are collected from the Catholic Ami. The Presbyterian Ami tended to avoid talking about any topic related to their religious life before their conversion. In other words, the past is made out of the present.[33] By acknowledging their authorship, I shall focus on the contrast between the Catholics and the Presbyterians. Nevertheless other information concerning the individuals, from whom I received my data, will be also provided where appropriate.

[33] I will discuss the implications of this difference in Chapter 8.

Part One

Pre-Christian Religion in Iwan, an Ami Village

Chapter 1

Basic Ami concepts of religion

1.1 *Kawas* and cosmic potency

The first part of this thesis concerns pre-Christian Ami religion and its social context. In the following four chapters I intend to investigate the nature of Ami religion before the Ami people's conversion to Christianity, and its function and meaning in pre-Christian Ami society.

Most studies of Ami society have described Ami religion in terms of structure and function (e.g. Li,1986; S. Huang,1986). However, here I am more interested in understanding Ami religion in terms of meaning and strategy. To this end I will focus on the Ami term *kawas* (supernatural beings) which is widely recognised as the key to understanding pre-Christian Ami religious belief (Chen &Coe,1954; Furuno,1945; S. Wang,1961). Even nowadays, over thirty years after their conversion, the Ami still use *kawas* in their religious life, although its meaning is slightly different.

To the pre-Christian Ami, *kawas* was a multivalent word. It could be used to refer to any supernatural being and, according to my data, there were at least six categories of *kawas* in pre-Christian Ami society. What is more, on the basis of their grammar, the Ami could generate numerous relevant concepts from the basic root *kawas*. For example, they called a traditional healer *cikawasay*. This means a man or woman with special *kawas*. They called anything mysterious *kawasan*. Furthermore, there was no corresponding word for religion in Ami language. According to some elderly informants, the closest translation was *kawakawas* (the plural form of *kawas*).

Briefly, the Ami used *kawas* to refer to supernatural beings. Therefore, *kawas* could be seen as power agents (cf. Arens & Karp,1989) which enabled the Ami to transform the world.

The Ami classified *kawas* into six groups, namely gods, ancestors, souls of living persons, spirits of living things, spirits of lifeless objects, and ghosts. In normal circumstances, each kind of *kawas* existed in an appropriate location and related to living persons in a specific way. Although for most of the time the ordinary people could not see *kawas* with their own eyes, they knew of their existence through the works of local healers (*cikawasay*) and bamboo oracle specialists (*mi'daway*).

Usually, gods and ancestors dwelt in heaven. The superiority of the sky within the hierarchical relationship of the sky to the land metaphorically symbolised the relation of ordinary man on the earth and the *kawas* in heaven. Both gods and ancestors were guardians of many aspects of Ami social life. They would protect and bless the common people if people obeyed social custom and worshipped them regularly through certain rites. If somebody on the earth did not obey the socio-cosmological order and made the gods or ancestors angry, they would send misfortune upon the living people.

Of the souls, spirits and ghosts on the earth, I shall first consider the souls of living persons. Everybody had a soul to protect his body and sickness. Dreams and death were explained in terms of a theory of the possession of a soul. If a person with good moral character died naturally at home, the soul would ascend to heaven and become an ancestor. If he/she had committed many misdeeds or died in an accident, the soul would become a ghost. The Ami expelled all ghosts from within the boundary of their village as they would treat their enemies. When a ghost entered a village, it would make trouble for the people.

The spirits of non-human living things, such as animals and plants, and other objects, such as stones and mountain, existed everywhere. They appeared not only inside a village but also outside it. These other spirits had equal status with the souls of living persons. Therefore, the Ami had to perform calendric rites and keep certain

special taboos to maintain a good relationship with them. If people failed in these things, the spirits would bring sickness or even death.

The Ami believed that the potency of supernatural beings could activate the cosmos and cause a change in physical and human conditions. The supernatural beings were real for the Ami who had constructed their social world around them. However, the potency of supernatural beings could not be known directly. It could be known only by two kinds of signs. The first one was one's success or failure in social life which the Ami thought resulted from the intentions of different supernatural beings. The other one was divination, using a bamboo oracle, dream or bird omen; the Ami could read signs of this kind and interpret the intentions of supernatural beings. The bamboo oracle (*'daw*) was particularly important for the Ami. It was used to make decisions in situations of uncertainty. It could be used to decide the date of rituals for a kinship group or for the whole village. However, according to my informants (such as Asala and Lifok), to find out the reason for an illness was the most important, yet most difficult, job for a bamboo oracle specialist (*mi'daway*).

Only a man could be a *mi'daway*. Although any adult man could learn this technique from someone else, an experienced and trustworthy *mi'daway* was usually an elderly male. Before a bamboo oracle could be used, the man who was seeking advice should tell the *mi'daway* his needs clearly. Then the *mi'daway* would sit down with his right foot on a wooden instrument (*cihak*), put a piece of thin bamboo (*afol*) into a hole in the *cihak* and pull the bamboo back and forth vigorously. When the *afol* broke, the *mi'daway* could make a judgement based on the pattern of the breakage. Usually the Ami used this method to decide what kind of illness their family members had, what was the reason for that illness, how to cure it, and to which local healer to go for help.

With the help of the bamboo oracle (and sometimes the interpretation of dreams), the Ami could divine the causes of disease and natural disasters. Having done so they would apologise to the gods or ancestors for their errors through certain rituals of appeal.

The concept of *kawas* is the key to understanding pre-Christian Ami religious life. From an analysis of this concept— for example, the classification of different kinds of *kawas,* the locations of these different kinds of *kawas*, and the various relationships between the different *kawas* and living persons— we can piece together an Ami socio-cosmological order.

1.2 Heavenly *kawas*

In this and the next section I will describe the place of the human being in the cosmos from the Ami's point of view, and I will try to explain how the Ami used the word *kawas* to interpret their world.

In simple terms, each *kawas* in heaven[1] had its own job, although their division of duty and their interrelationship was not exactly clear. The Ami believed nonetheless that each different *kawas* had its own character. Therefore, the Ami treated them in different ways in order to seek peace and prosperity. All the different kinds of *kawas* in heaven are shown in Table 1-1.

A. *Tada kawas* were anthropomorphized *kawas*. They governed other kinds of *kawas*, such as human souls, spirits of animals and plants, and the like. It was widely recognised that *Malataw* was the most important one among these three *tada kawas.* Each year the Ami worshipped *Malataw* in their traditional new year ritual (*ilisin*). Normally *Malataw* was the first god whom the Ami worshipped in this formal ritual. Some traditional healers worshipped him as well and sought his help in healing rituals. In a household rite, however, it was a taboo (*paysin*) to worship him.

Compared with *Malataw*, *Kakacawan* seemed much closer to human beings. He was a guardian god not only for the individual, but also for each household, even

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1 According to a well-known myth, the Ami divided the world into heaven and earth (Sayama and Onisi,1923:5).

for the whole village.[2] The Ami believed that *Kakacawan* protected everybody all the time but he never punished human beings directly. In other words, after someone had breached certain taboos, the *Kakacawan* just went away and did not protect him/her any more. In this sense, *Kakacawan* acted like a human soul which removed itself when displeased. Therefore some Ami (including Asala, Maro', Lifok and Dafak) said that he was the second soul for the human body.

Table 1-1 *kawas* in heaven

A. *tada kawas* (lit. real god/goddess)

1) *Malataw* (supreme god)

2) *Kakacawan* (guardian god)

3) *Faydogi* (life-giving goddess)

B. *ci locidal a kawas* (sun)

C. *ci lofolad a kawas* (moon)

D. *ci lofo'is a kawas* (stars)

E. *no cikawasay a kawas* (traditional healers' god/goddess)

F. *Fitolol* (head-hunting god)

G. *o to'as a kawas* (ancestors)

H. *kawas no Sa'aniwan* (guardian god for the village)

I. *kawas no Payrag* (Chinese gods)

J. *kawas no Dipog* (Japanese god)

The most important female goddess was *Faydogi* who was believed to control the birth of human beings and protect pregnant women.[3] Just like *Kakacawan*, she

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[2] *Kakacawan* is a derivative of *kacaw*. In the Ami language, *kacaw* means to look after, to protect, or to help. It was (and still is) a popular personal name for men. For the local people, this fact is seen to prove that *Kakacawan* was a male god.

[3] *Dogi* is a common name for women and according to my informants it has always been a female name. For the Ami, this fact is seen to prove that *Faydogi* was a female goddess.

only protected people and did not punish them directly. What is more, people did not worship her regularly.

Compared with *tada kawas,* the function of other *kawas* was much more specific.

B. The sun was a visible *kawas*. Like a human being, it had its emotions. When it was happy it gave human beings a good harvest; when it was angry, it would cause disasters. In these cases, people had a special rite, *pakacidal,* for placating it.

C. The moon was the god in charge of the night (*sasimaw no dadaya*). In traditional society, only men went out at night, to hunt, to fish or to patrol. The moon was their protective god. It was therefore believed that the moon was a male god. The Ami calculated their calendar on the basis of the phases of the moon. For some of the traditional healers, the moon was their protective god.

D. Some local healers took certain stars as their protective gods as well. In this sense, the Ami thought of the moon and the stars as a kind of benevolent god.

E. There were four sects of local healers in Iwan before the Ami's conversion: *tada cikawasay, misapayciay, misakaramay,* and *misaiyanaay.* Different healers had their different gods and goddesses and these deities were referred to generically as *salo'afag*. The literal meaning of *'afag* is to put one's hand on another's shoulder. So *salo'afag* means protector, or a protector with supernatural power. The *salo'afag* common to all local healers were *Kakacawan* and *Fasanihar*. The latter was, according to Ami legend, the first pre-Christian Ami healer. Apart from these, there were at least eleven other *salo'afag* and each *salo'afag* had its specific power. To become a healer, one had first to become apprenticed to a master (*piwanaan*) and to learn how to communicate with the *salo'afag*. An apprentice did not need to learn about each of the master's *salo'afag* and indeed a healer could have more than one master in his life. In pre-Christian society, the traditional healers not only cured human disease but also conducted rituals after poor harvests and when livestock became diseased.

F. About one hundred years ago, head hunting was common among the aboriginal people of Taiwan, captured heads being used in rituals. Although the Ami

rarely took part in this form of warfare they were frequently subject to aggressive raids from other peoples. *Fitolol* was a head hunting god who was also known as *kawas no misatafaday*. In Iwan the Cilagasan clan[4] undertook complete responsibility for dealing with this god. In the past, in order to practise this special work (*lisin*), there was a particular ritual house in the village[5].

G. and H. Most Ami talked about their ancestors as the people of the past who lived in heaven and acted as the guardians of families. Some people called them *o kawas no loma'* (family's *kawas*). Normally the ancestors blessed their offsprings on earth. However, when a member of a family broke taboos, the punishment from their ancestors would be to cause disease or disaster for that family. In Iwan, there were two *kawas no Sa'aniwan.*[6] The first, called Payo, was the founder of the village, and the first village leader. According to custom, he should become an ancestor only of his kin group. However, the villagers so appreciated his contributions to the village that he was deified and he became a guardian for the whole village. The other *kawas no Sa'aniwan*, Diway, who had a career similar to Payo's, was an active and outstanding leader. In every new year rite (*ilisin*), the villagers worshipped him and hoped that he would bless the village.

I. By the 1950s, after a long period of contact with the Chinese and Japanese, the Ami came to know about the religions of these two peoples. For example, they knew at least two Chinese gods (*citiyoday kawas, cigisgiay a kawas*). They also knew how the Chinese worshipped their gods. They believed that the Chinese gods had spiritual power just like the Ami's *kawas*. However, most of them avoided having any contact with the Chinese gods.

J. Whilst the Ami avoided contact with Chinese gods, they had direct contact with Japanese religion because of pressure from the Japanese government. The government gave each family a wooden tablet on which the name of the Japanese

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4 This clan was responsible for worshipping the head-hunting god in many coastal Ami villages. Consequently, its male members played a significant role in Ami village politics.

5 It was next to the men's house (*sfi*) and called *sfi* too.

6 *Sa'aniwan* is the original term by which the Ami in Iwan refer to their village.

supreme god was written. The villagers had to worship this tablet at least once a year— on the first day of the new year of the solar calendar. A temple for this god was set up by the government on the outskirts of the village, and villagers were forced to participate in rituals worshipping him. However the Japanese did not explain the details of their religion and did not forbid the Ami from worshipping their own traditional *kawas*. The influence of the Japanese god was not very important, and indeed after the Japanese left, the Ami no longer worshipped the Japanese god even though they still believed in its power and dared not touch the wooden tablets in their houses. This situation persisted until their conversion to Christianity.

1.3 *Kawas* and human beings

There are three versions of folk stories about where the Ami people came from (T. Mabuchi,1935). The first of them indicates that the Ami's ancestors came by small boats from certain southern islands. The remaining two are basically the same, a minor difference being that one emphasises the mountain where the Ami's ancestors originally came from, whereas the other always opens the creation story with a flood.

In the 1950s the flood motif was the most popular creation story in Iwan. In the story, the flood is the end of ages of mystery (*kawakawasan*) and the beginning of human beings. After the flood, only a girl and her brother survived. In order to reproduce human beings, they committed incest. Surprisingly, all they produced were frogs, fish, and so on. Finally a god came down from heaven and taught the couple how to worship (*lisin*) and how to obey certain taboos (*paysin*). After following these instructions, the couple produced human babies successfully. It is therefore believed that all the Ami people are descendants of this couple.

There are many local variations upon this story, for example in Vata'an, another Ami village, the couple had sixteen children, including the ancestors of different Ami villages and even the ancestors of the Bunon and the Atayal peoples, who were the

Ami's enemies in the past (Liu *et al.*, 1965:8). In other villages, the stories even include the Chinese or the Japanese as the couple's offspring. It seems that there was no significant difference between human groups.

There are stories about the origins of other living beings and lifeless objects. According to them, all the creatures in the world are mutable. For example, in the mythical world, man could be transformed into another living creature such as a bird, a monkey, a bear, or a tree, or even an object, such as a star in the sky. Sometimes, humans could have sexual intercourse with other living creatures, e.g. a woman with a bear as happens in one story. Occasionally, animals could turn into human beings. For instance, in another story a bear became a man and married a woman. However, this kind of transformation never succeeded completely because of basic differences between human beings and other creatures, which was related to the Ami's concept of the human soul.

Two different essential elements make up the complete human being: the body and the soul. The Ami call all human beings *tamdaw*. This term can refer not only to the Ami, but also to their enemies (*'ada*): *Taloko Cogaw* (Atayal) and *Iwatan Manowan* (Bunon). The Ami call the human body *tatiregan no tamdaw* and the human soul *'adigo* or *sahaklog*. The visible human substance is called *tatiregan* (body). But the body is in two different parts, the outer part of the body *o papotal no tamdaw* (or *no tamdaw*), meaning the visible part of the body or human appearance, and the internal part of the body *o laloma' no tamdaw* (or *no kawasan*), meaning the mysterious part of the human body. The appearance of the human body is an important factor that makes human beings different from other living beings (*ma'oripay*). It also made human behaviour and activity possible. However, the inner mysterious part of the body was more significant in making man different from other living beings, in that it enabled man to think, to dream and to speak.

A living human being was called *ma'orip a tamdaw*. Apart from the body, a living human being needed a soul to lodge in the body, as it was an essential part of the whole. The Ami believed that the existence of breathing (*midpoc*) was an indicator of

the life (*'orip*) of living beings. Once a human being stopped breathing, then the soul left its body and its life ended.

The Ami believed that only human beings used speech to communicate with each other. In rituals men used speech to pray, or to communicate with other *kawas*. Therefore human speech had potential magical power.[7] The Ami believed that birds in general could speak some kind of language, even though human beings could not understand them and for that reason they avoided killing birds. In particular they respected two varieties of birds, the *tata'ciw* (Black Drongo) and the *cirot* (Rufous-backed Shrike). In folk stories, they were the representatives of gods in heaven. The Ami interpreted the song patterns and flying directions of these birds as omens of their fortune.

They also believed that the human soul was a special kind of *kawas*. They used two special terms to refer to it, namely *'adigo* and *sahaklog*. The original meaning of *'adigo* is shadow. It implies that each human being's *kawas* is like a shadow, which accompanies the body all the time. In a more abstract sense, the *'adigo* is a kind of *kawas*, which has no shape, no substance and exists outside one's body. Some old informants, such as Asala and Lifok, said that the location of *'adigo* was about 50 cm above the right shoulder for a man and the same distance above the left shoulder for a woman[8]. When someone died, his *'adigo* would go away from the body. If he/she died in a natural way, his/her *'adigo* would go back to heaven and become an ancestor. If someone's death was abnormal, such as by accident or by committing suicide, etc., it was believed that *'adigo* would become a homeless ghost (*mafalahay a kawas*).

Because of their immature bodies, children's souls were called *sahaklog* rather than *'adigo*. This implied that a child's soul was not as strong as an adult's. The

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[7] Even nowadays, in their daily life, the Ami avoid cursing or being cursed by someone. They believe that this kind of speech may bring bad luck or misfortune to people.

[8] Furuno (1942) mentioned that in some northern and central Ami villages, each human being had two souls (*kawas*): the beneficent one located in the right hand side of the human body and the the malevolent one located in the left hand side. Furthermore, the beneficent one was male and the malevolent one was female. This interesting point deserves future investigation.

sahaklog accompanied a child's body just like an *'adigo* did for an adult. Before a boy passed the initiation ritual and formally joined the age-group organisation of the village, he could not wear the dress of adults, could not marry and his soul was *sahaklog* rather than *'adigo*. Normally the initiation rite took place every three years and usually a boy passed this rite at the age of about 13-15. A girl obtained an *'adigo* at approximately the same age but no initiation was needed.

If a child died, no matter in what situation, his *sahaklog* came back to a place called *cifayalay* at the top of a big tree (*fayal*). These *sahaklog* depended for their existence on the oil of the *fayal* tree (*'adteg*). According to Asala and Lifok, a still-born baby (*pakapsi'an*) was only half human (*caayho kalatamdaw*). It did not have a *sahaklog*, therefore it was just like rubbish (*lakaw*) or an animal's corpse (*damatay*). In this case, people usually buried the body in the back yard of the house without ceremony.

The distinctions of *'adigo* and *sahaklog* were very important in Ami life and this was brought out in Ami attitudes toward dreams. They believed that a dream was the adventure of a man's soul while he was sleeping. Even now, some Ami (such as Lifok, Dafak and Dafak's sister Itay) still believe that only a human adult will have a dream (*lmed*); that is because only a mature person has *'adigo*. They interpret the dreams of adults as omens for their future and take the meanings of dreams seriously. However, in their opinion, the dreams of children are only a kind of illusion (*talanitiihay*). They are not real dreams (*tada lmed*) and therefore cannot be used as omens.

1.4 Basic elements in *lisin*

The Ami call all forms of social life *'orip*, and call all serious human action *tayal* (lit. work). *Lisin* is a kind of *tayal* in their definition.

Lisin can be seen as the way people dealt with different *kawas* in the past. In anthropological terms, it can be understood as ritual, worship or ceremony. It is a noun in the Ami language. There are three derivations from this *lisin*: *misalisin*, means to worship or to practise a rite; *cilisinay* is the person in charge of worship or a ritual; and *kalisinan* is the period of a ritual.

Before discussing the four main groups of *lisin* in pre-Christian Ami society, which will be treated seperately in subsequent chapters[9], I will introduce some basic elements in all Ami *lisin* : *miftir*, *piton*, *ladiw* and *sakro* and *mila'alac* or *paklag* in this section.

The first element of a ritual, was a *miftir*. A man held a cup of wine (*'pah*) with his left hand, dipped his right hand index finger into it and then sprayed the wine into the air. The purpose of *miftir* was to thank or worship the god/goddess (such as *Malataw*, *Kakacawan* and *Faydogi*) and the ancestors in heaven[10]. The wine used for *miftir* was called *ligalawan*, meaning clean water or sacred water. Originally this kind of wine was made from millet although later it was made from rice, both grains being the Ami's main staples. In the past, when people were drinking wine, they would have observed a *miftir* before the first cup of wine was drunk. In ordinary situations, *miftir* was thus a way of thanking the *kawas* in heaven and inviting them to drink together with the people. However, in a ritual situation, like a funeral or a wedding, *miftir* had other purposes as well, such as to ask *kawas* to bless the living. In these cases, prayers were much more complicated and much more serious because any mistake in a *lisin*, including *miftir*, could cause a disaster for the whole group.

Only a man could perform the *miftir*. Although a woman could pray to most of the *kawas* (except *Malataw*) in heaven, she was not allowed to worship these *kawas* by performing a *miftir*. It is believed that, without this means to worship the *kawas* in heaven, a woman's ability to communicate with them was less effective than a man's.

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[9] The pre-Christian Ami rites can be classified into four groups: life cycle rituals, calendric rites, rites for natural disaster and healing rites.

[10] The Ami only perform *miftir* to the beneficent *kawas* in heaven.

Even among men, the ability to perform a *miftir* differed. Although any adult man could perform this ritual, on formal occasions usually the oldest man or a man with a special status would carry out the *miftir* for the group. For example, at a kinship gathering, the oldest *faki* (mother's brother) would perform the *miftir*. In a village level ritual, such as *ilisin*, the head of the village would perform the *miftir*.

The man who performed the *miftir* for his group was called *cilisinay*. It is believed that the *cilisinay* was able to communicate with the *kawas* more effectively than the other people.

Prayer speech (*piton*) was an essential part of a *miftir*. There were two ways to pray: the first one was to pray silently and the other one was to pray aloud. In a daily drinking situation, each man could do his own *miftir* and prayed either silently or aloud. However, on an important occasion, especially in a ritual, the *cilisinay* should only pray aloud. It was important for the *cilisinay* to recite the names of the *kawas* in heaven completely and correctly. In addition to this, there was a "formalisation of language" (Bloch,1974:58) in this sort of spoken prayer, and usually it took much longer to perform this kind of prayer than an ordinary prayer. In some household situations, a woman could be a *cilisinay* and pray for the household in several rituals which concerned millet. In any case, prayer speech was an important way for people to communicate with *kawas*. Therefore, the correct names of all the *kawas* and their appropriate forms of prayer must be learn by anyone wishing to be a *cilisinay*. In their prayers, the Ami asked for health, long life and happiness, as well as the food they needed for their survival.

Usually, but not always, songs (*ladiw*) and dances (*sakro*) constituted the other two elements in a *lisin*. The local people thought that proper singing (*lomaliw*) could happen only when at least two people gathered together. Therefore most of the Ami songs were performed in a choral style. Normally, a person would sing alone for a short while (*ti'iciw*), then the rest of the people joined in (*lcad*). This leading and following pattern was often repeated again and again in a *lisin*.

Ladiw should accompany *sakro* all the time. The literal meaning of *sakro* was movement of the body while singing. The association of singing and working resulted in sevaral tasks, e.g. weeding, husking and embroidering being seen as *sakro*. There were two main kinds of *ladiw* and *sakro*: that used in a ritual context (*no kawas*) and that used in ordinary context (*no tamdaw*). The main purpose of *ladiw* and *sakro* in a ritual was to amuse the *kawas* in heaven. Therefore all the *ladiw* and *sakro* related with ritual were not used in ordinary social life.[11]

The last ritual element was originally called *mili'alac*. Around the 1930s, when the influence from outside became greater and greater, and the Ami grew rice as their main staple instead of millet, they kept this *mili'alac* custom but gave it a new name, *paklag*, to fit this new phase. However, no matter what it was called, the content of this religious element was basically the same: people went to the brooks to catch crabs, fish or shrimps, then they all had a supper together. The catch from the brooks was the main food item in this food sharing ritual. After the supper, the ritual was over and social life went back to normal.

There are two categories into which the Ami classify social life, religious and non-religious. *Mili'alac* (or *paklag*) was used by them to differentiate the religious context from ordinary daily life. Asala explained that *lisin* was a period of activity when humans interacted with *kawas* and *mili'alac* was a boundary (*sapala'ed*) that separated humans from the *kawas*. He reminded me that the Ami have some daily routines which parallel this custom. For example, after finishing their work, they used to wash their hands. After having a meal, they used to drink some water or chew a betel quid. The same informant explained that, without washing your hands after you have finished your work, you will feel your work is still unfinished; without drinking some water or chewing a betel quid, you will feel you are still eating. All these actions, such as washing hands, drinking water and chewing betel quids function as boundary markers, and they serve to make people feel comfortable. Similarly, he said, people practised a *mili'alac* after a *lisin* to make them feel at ease.

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[11] Certain forms of *ladiw* and *sakro* were associated with certain types of ritual.

Before 1930 this kind of ritual element was called *mili'alac*. It occurred only at some important rituals (such as *misalifog*, *ilisin*, funeral, wedding and ancestors worship). Because the *mili'alac* was performed during different rituals, its meaning was slightly different in each situation. For example, in a *mili'alac* for a wedding, one of the key purposes was to welcome the *kadafo* (marrying-in person, normally a man at that time) and ask the ancestors to bless him in the *miftir* done by the *faki* (bride's mother's brother). A *mili'alac* in a funeral for a still-born was to keep bad luck away from the mother and ask the ancestors to bless her health and give her a successful childbirth in the future. However, as I have said, the basic meaning of all the *mili'alac* in different situations was to distance humans from the *kawas* (*pala'ed to kawas*) and allow the people to return contented to normal life.

After the 1930s, Ami society changed radically in many aspects but the *mili'alac* not only persisted but was also applied to some new occasions and given a new name, *paklag*. Generally when people who had been away for a period returned to the village their family would hold a *paklag* for them. The ritual was not only to welcome the people back to the village but also to expel any evil spirit from the outside world that might have followed the people. This was particularly the case when young men and women were forced to leave the village, to work, by the Japanese government, when school pupils went to cities for athletic competitions, or when village leaders travelled around the island in government organised trips. The Ami had started to set up their rice paddy fields under the instruction of Japanese governors from the middle of 1930s. After each group finished a piece of paddy field, they would have a *paklag* to celebrate. On the one hand the *paklag* was organised by the host to reward all the workers and on the other hand that people took the chance to thank their ancestors and ask them to promise a good harvest on the new land. All the new situations for performing a *paklag* were called *pahrek no tayal*, which means the end of the work. Even now, the concept of *paklag* is still alive in Ami society, even though its name and meaning is slightly changed. (I will come back to this issue in Chapter 8.)

1.5 *Paysin* and everyday life

In anthropological terms, *paysin* can be understood as taboo, that is in Ami society something that should not be done for a religious reason. A derivation of *paysin* is *kapaysinan* which means "an activity or object that is taboo" (Fey ed., 1986:224).

During my fieldwork, I learnt of 72 examples of pre-Christian *paysin*; for example during the day of the burial of a village member all other villagers should not do any agricultural work, or a traditional healer could not feed pigs or touch the excrement of a pig. Some of them applied to all the villagers, some of them were only applicable to certain people or to a certain family. Furthermore, some of the *paysin* had ceased to apply for a long time but some of them were still in force. For example, since the 1930s, all the *paysin* which dealt with millet no longer existed. The *paysin* concerned with traditional healers were abolished when most of them converted to Christianity in the 1950s. Nevertheless, some of the Ami's traditional *paysin* are still observed, especially among the older people.

Although *paysin* is no longer a significant factor in Ami life, it is described as being of fundamental importance to Ami life in the pre-Christian period. At that time *paysin* involved an element of collective responsibility, as each group had its own *paysin* and any breach of the group's *paysin* by an individual could bring misfortune to the whole group. Such misfortune usually took the form of sickness, death or famine.

The consequences of a breach of *paysin* could take the form of a withdrawal of the protection of *kawas* (i.e. *Kakacawan*); a punishment from the gods (i.e. *Malataw*) or the ancestors; or an invasion of ghosts or punishment from the spirits of animals or plants. In fact, only in 24 of the 72 examples of *paysin* I know of could informants, such as Asala and Lifok, explain which specific *kawas* might bring about misfortune. Nevertheless, all informants agree that in the past all the consequences of breaching *paysin* were associated with supernatural beings.

Chapter 2

Social organisation and life cycle rituals

In this chapter I shall discuss the significance of residence patterns, kin groups, age-group organisation and the village council for the Ami of Iwan. I shall also relate these institutions to the Ami life cycle rituals.

2.1 *Loma'* as a basic social unit[1]

The basic social unit in a *niyaro'* (village) is a *loma'* (household). If many households settle down in an area and form a village, then the Ami call this place *masaniyaro'ay* (location of a village or human area). There are two dimensions to the meaning of *loma'* : the first one is the living space—the house—and the other is the people who live in the house. Let us look at the first dimension of *loma'* .

Traditionally, *niyaro'* was the highest level social group among the Ami. According to Li (1957:144), the meaning of *niyaro'* is "all the people within the same fence" and "it is a basic social group based on locality relation." Furthermore, according to Shih, in the past each *niyaro'* should have two essential elements: "1. a common meeting place, which is the administration and education centre in the village. 2. age-group organisation, this is a backbone for administration and military action."

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[1] In this study, I call a household *loma'*, which is based on the pronunciation system developed by ministers of the Evangelical Alliance mission among the Ami who were involved in Bible translation work (cf. Fey ed., 1986:5). Different systems are being used by other scholars, such as *rumaQ* (Suenari, 1983), *rumah* (W. Chen,1987), and so on.

(Liu *et al*, 1965:13). Using this definition[2], it could be said that Iwan village was established about 130 years ago. It was a compact settlement[3] built on the top of a small hill, about 50 metres to the west of the present settlement location. According to Asala and other informants, there was really a fence surrounding the settlement and about 20 households lived within this fence. In the early 1910s, under the pressure of the Japanese, the whole settlement moved to a new site and settled down along a plain near the seashore. Since then, under the protection of the government, even though there is no longer a fence, its inhabitants have been living there.

The house, owned and used by the members of a household, is an essential unit of a village. Pre-Christian Ami believed that each piece of land, whether virgin forest or land occupied by a group of people, had a *kawas* in it. Therefore, it was a serious matter to choose a suitable place for residence. Among all their considerations, one of the most important things was to communicate with the earth god (*cimasra*). Once a household had chosen a certain piece of land on which to build their house, they would hold a *misasra* ritual. In the first stage of this ritual, *cilisinay* (the person in charge of this matter) walked along the boundary which had been decided upon. After coming back to the original starting place, the *cilisinay* raised a hoe over his/her head and prayed: Earth god and guardian god, please bless and protect the people who are going to live here. You are their gods. Then he/she began to dig the land. If the *cilisinay* was a man, he could stamp on the land once with his right foot[4]. Asala said that this final act made the ritual more effective.

If the land was full of trees or grasses, another ritual was held. In this *misafarsiw* ritual, the *cilisinay* faced a tree and, with one hand holding a branch of this tree and the other hand holding a knife, prayed like this: You, the spirits of trees and

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2 My informants (such as Lifok and Asala) have a similar view about how a traditional Ami village is defined, but Dafak has a different view (see section 8.5).

3 Village refers to an independent organisation while settlement refers to the geographical spacing of dwellings.

4 In traditional Ami society it was a taboo (*paysin*) for a woman to stamp on the earth in a ritual.

grasses, listen, you are the origins of diseases and disasters, go away from this land to another place. Then he/she cut a small twig of the branch and threw it away.

After the rituals were completed, the members of the household would clearly mark out their boundary as soon as possible. Normally, they would keep some of the mature trees as boundary markers or plant some new trees for this purpose. In some cases, people used stones to make a wall for their boundary. The land inside this boundary as a whole is called *salikotan* (or *laloma'an*).

In the past, people preferred to make their main door facing the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, they called the easterly direction *'a'ayawan* (front) and the westerly direction *saykoran* (back). Usually, the back part of each house faced the forest or the village's common farm-land, and ideally each plot of household land formed a rectangle; the sides being longer than the front and back.

One of the meanings of *loma'* is "house". In this sense, *loma'* is interchangeable with *kadikoan* (resting place). However, in a broader sense, an ideal *loma'* should at least include: a resting place, a kitchen (*pakofawan*), and a barn (*ariri*).

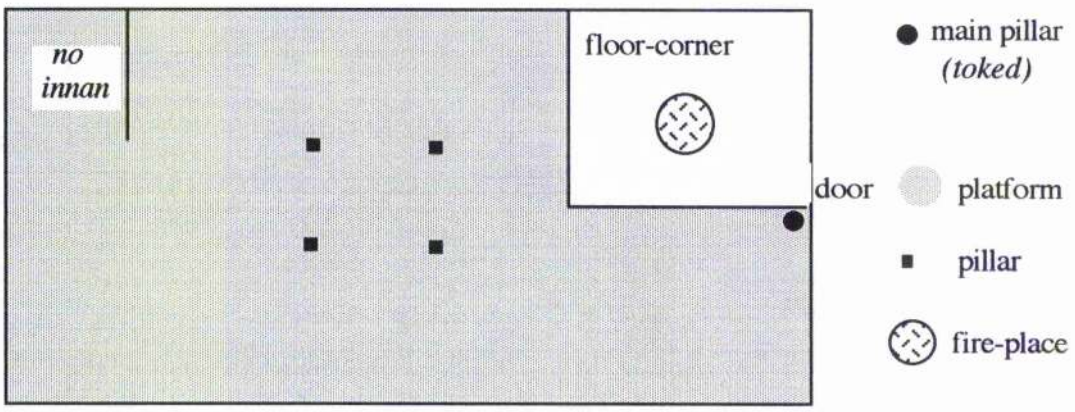
There were two major house styles in the 1950s. The first one could be called a traditional style. One of the significant features of this house was that all the pillars were inserted into the ground. The main (front) door was called *safawahan* and it was on the front wall of the house and to the right side of the main pillar (*toked*) if faced from the outside. The other style of house was a modernised style (*mitikaan*), influenced by the Japanese government. In this house, the pillars were no longer inserted into the ground, rather they sat on a wooden footing and only supported the floor. Furthermore, the front door was at the centre of the front wall, and just under a main pillar, which was supported by a cross beam.

The internal layouts of these two house styles were slightly different, but the usages of the house were basically the same. Because the traditional house style had symbolic significance, I will concentrate on this house style.

The house itself was a rectangular shape, with the right/left sides longer than the front/back. Entering the main door, there was a floor corner (*pa'nan*), with a fire-place

(*panamalan*) at its centre. Apart from this corner, there was a flat L-shaped platform (*takar*) covering about five sixths of the house. In the back right corner of the house, there was a special area called mother's place (*no inaan*). It was separated from the other areas by a simple bamboo partition. There were four pillars in the centre of the house, forming four points of a square. The Ami used these four points to define the space in the house. For example, from front to back, there were two imaginary but important lines. Between these two lines was the passage from the main door to the mother's place. Both the right and left sides of this passage were used as sleeping places.

Diagram 2-1 Internal layout of a traditional house



The traditional house had four clearly distinguished areas which served different functions. The first area was the floor-corner with the fire-place at its centre. Usually people used the floor corner for eating. It was also used as a reception area. The passage from the main door to the mother's place was the second area. The central square formed by the four pillars in the house was the most important part in the passage. Large feasts with many guests would be held in this central square rather than in the floor-corner which was used for small feasts with few guests. Whenever there was a big meeting, this area would be used. Furthermore, household rituals would normally take place in the central square.

The sleeping places, on both the right and left sides of the passage from front door to mother's place, was the third area in a house, where the various household members slept differed from one house to the next. However there were some commonalties; for example, a couple and their immature children should sleep together; all the marriageable girls should leave their parents and siblings, and move to a specific area[5] of the platform. There was another important point, when sleeping on the bed, no matter where one was, one should point one's head towards the central passage of the house. It was a serious matter to go against this taboo.

The fourth area, the mother's place, that only certain persons could enter, was a very special place and it was usually used by the head of the household. Many precious objects were kept here. A boy who passed his initiation ritual should sleep in the men's house (*sfi*) until he got married and lived in his wife's house. If he was sick or for any other reason could not stay in the men's house, he could sleep in his mother's place.

In addition to the house itself, the barn was an essential part of a household. Traditionally, millet (*hafay*) was the most precious agricultural product for the Ami. The spirit (*kawas*) of the millet was so powerful that human beings had to obey certain taboos and practise certain rites to deal with this plant. The barn was said to be the house for the millet, (although the Ami stored some other agricultural products in it as well).

The kitchen was another essential part of the house. Usually it was an independent small building not far away from the house proper. According to the Ami's custom, it was built on the left hand side of the dwelling house and away from the barn, which was on the right hand side of the house. Asala and Maro' explained to me in different occasions that the spirit of millet disliked water and fire. As a kitchen could not function without water and fire, people would build these two buildings on different sides of the dwelling house.

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5 The position of this area was decided by the household members.

Each household had a small house for chickens (*'ayam*). The adult cock's crow (*mamaskak*) was used to estimate time, especially in the morning. If it was possible, people also set up a small sty for pigs (*fafog*) in their back yard, but they had to build this sty away from the barn, because it was thought that the millet did not like pigs at all. However, if a household did not have enough room in their back yard, or if they were worried that the distance between the barn and the sty for the pigs was not sufficient, they might build a shelter on the seashore or riverside. Many households had done this.

Except for these buildings, most households tried to keep their back yard as natural as possible. However, some households grew some vegetables there for their own needs. In spite of this, one of the most important functions of the back yard in the past was to bury the dead. According to my informants (including Asala, Lifok, Maro' and Dafak), in the past the Ami believed that when someone died, they returned to their real home-land (*minokayay*) and became an ancestor who would bless the living. The Ami not only treated the corpse carefully in the funeral but also prevented it from being destroyed or stolen by enemies or dogs. Lifok further reported that, in the past before a new house was going to be used, a *pakawih to loma'* ritual should be performed by a local healer. In this ritual, a boy of the household was sacrificed and then buried in the back yard of the new house. Around 1910, after the intervention of Japanese policemen, according to Asala, the Ami started to use pigs to replace humans in sacrifice. The original meaning of *kawih* is summoning someone by hand signal. And the meaning of *pakawih to loma'* is summoning an ancestor to stay and protect the household. These situations have been changed gradually since the 1930s when the Japanese government set up a common cemetery and forced Ami people to bury their dead there. Nowadays, due to the scarcity of building sites, it is getting more and more difficult for a household to build a house following all the appropriate customs. However, people still avoid locating their main door directly facing another household's back yard. This is presumably, according to Lifok, because the back yard

used to be the most sacred place of a house—the place of a household's ancestors and origins.

Now let us move on to see who lived in the house. According to Asala, in the past there were two essential requirements to form a new independent household. The first one was to set up and regularly use the stove in the kitchen (*masa paroday*). As I have said, the kitchen was an essential element of a house. In the past kinsmen would help a new household to construct their house, but only the people who were to live in the house built the kitchen. Therefore, kitchen and barn were two symbols of household as an independent economic unit. *Parod* is a place to ignite a fire, which is needed for cooking and keeping warm. In the past, people used to get together around the *parod* or have a rest there. It was an important part of a house. *Masa paroday* 's literal meaning is to set up a stove. A long time ago, parents would ask the young man who was going to marry their daughter: Are you able to set up a stove after marriage? The meaning of *Masa paroday* here is not only to set up a stove but also to take care of the whole household. Therefore, when referring to a household, sometimes the Ami use *parod* as a substitute for *loma'*. However, even if there was a stove in a house but people did not live there, this house could not be regarded as a real *loma'*. For example, if people who used to live in a house had already died out or had gone elsewhere, this house could not be called *loma'*. It became *horac* (empty house) or *loma' no kawas* (ghost house). The Ami, Asala said, believed that if no one lived in a house or if there was no smoke coming out from the stove, their ancestors would be reluctant to come into this house. Without the blessing of the ancestors, the life of the living would be full of uncertainty. A real *loma'* had to have smoke coming out from its kitchen from time to time.

The second requirement needed to form a new household was a minimum number of people (*maro'ay to loma'*) to live in the house. That was: one couple and a grown-up child, preferably a daughter.

Diagram 2-2 Household division (1950)

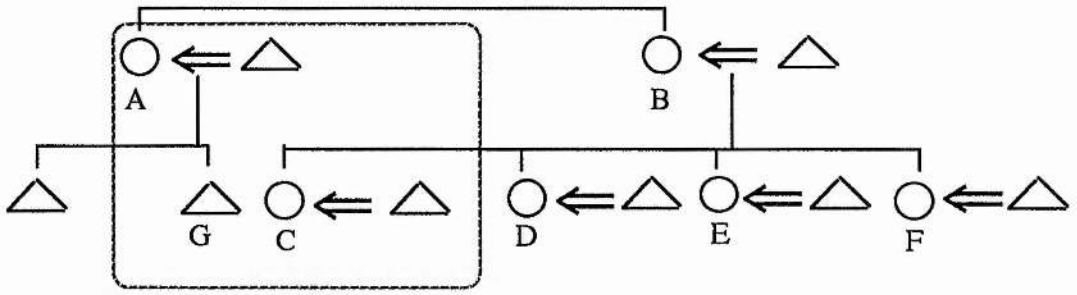

Diagram 2-2 deals with a case of household fission from 1950, when uxorilocal residence was still the dominant custom, and the household in question contained six couples. A was B's younger sister and C, D, E, F were B's daughters. A and her husband wanted to separate from this household, but their son G was so young that it did not meet the basic requirement to form a new household. Finally their relatives decided to let C, B's daughter, and her husband move out with A and her husband to form a viable independent household (*ccayay loma'*).

The relationships among the households of a village are basically egalitarian. For example, in the past, the villagers had an obligation to supply food for the village councillors when they had a meeting. This kind of contribution was provided by each independent household in turn. In addition to this, many informants said that, when the Ami were practising swidden agriculture, each household had the right to use the common farm-land in the village and grow on it millet, green beans, tobacoo and the like for their own needs. All the members of a household more or less shared the facilities of their house, and most of its property, such as the house itself, tools and cooking equipment, and other provisions were shared by its members.

In the past a household tended to become a stem or even extended family. According to Suenari (1983:122, table 17), the average number of household members in Pakara'ac (an Ami village near Iwan) was 10.4 in 1919, 11.0 in 1929 and 11.5 in 1939. The household registration data collected in the local government office in Cheng-gung produced figures for Iwan which are roughly the same for the same period.

A major reason for the large size of family groups was that there were some cultural restrictions on founding a new household. For example, a new couple might not be able to found their household immediately after their marriage (see above). However, local attitudes toward children was another factor which attributed to a large family. The villagers thought that a rich family was the result of a great number of children—either male or female, both were of equal importance—whereas having few children was seen as a major cause of poverty. So, a couple with many children was a lucky couple (*malmday mararamor*) who were admired by other people. In the past when a living was earned by gathering and cultivating their fields, many children could help in agriculture and guarantee enough food for the household.

An interesting question here is: why in the past did the children mainly achieve their household, and other kin group, membership through their mother's line? Interpretations of this phenomena have led to claims that there was matrilineal descent in Ami society. However, I will rather take the viewpoint of Suenari (1983) and W. Chen (1987) and suggest that a person's membership of kin groups is determined by his parents' post-marital residence rather than by the concept of matrilineal descent. This will be discussed in the following sections.

2.2 Pre-Christian marriage customs

Monogamy (*mararamor*) is a basic principle of marriage in Iwan. The Ami also practise *gasaw* (clan) exogamy[6], namely each member of a clan finds a spouse outside their own clan. In addition, most clan prohibit the marriage of their members to their *mito'asay* (mother's brother's child, see section 2.3).

Before the end of last century, because the population of the village was too small, the villagers had to find spouses from other villages. Later, around 1900, in

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6 There are nine clans names in Iwan but there are eleven functioning clans. Please see section 2.5 of this chapter.

order to promote village solidarity the village council (see section 2.8) decided to practise village endogamy. This customary law was valid until the end of the war (1945).

Young single men and women could make friends with each other freely. However, their parents or aged relatives had a right to make the final decision on a marriage. Traditionally, the Ami had an uxorilocal system of residence when after a marriage the bridegroom lived with the bride's family. In this situation, the bride's family took the initiative in a wedding.

In the Ami gender division of labour women had a strong connection with millet. In a popular creation myth (*kimad*), a seed of millet, the most precious food item for the Ami, was found by the female ancestress in one of her ears (Sayama and Onisi,1923:25). Furthermore, most rituals dealing with millet were performed by women. Most importantly, each household barn (the house for the millet) was exclusively governed by the women. In addition to this, villagers believed that people who were born or brought up in the the same household belong to the same kin group and among them intermarriage was a taboo (*paysin*). What is more, people belonging to a different kin group could not enter each other's barn.

Now let us look at the relations between household members.

Ina is a kin term which can refer to one's great-grandmother, grandmother, mother, mother's sister or any female relative whose generation is higher than the speaker.

In a household, the main duties of *ina* were: a) *sakirahkar*, which included taking care of the barn, husking millet or rice, cooking, making wine and the like. A male was not allowed to do these things, otherwise he would breach a taboo. b) *mamifaca'*, which meant to wash the clothes for the family members. An adult male could only do this kind of work for himself. c) *mamidipot to adaday*, which meant to look after the sick and the old. In fact, in the past, only the *ina* of a household could clean the urine and excrement of a patient. In other words, *ina* were responsible for arranging all the work of a household (*o citodogoy to tayal no loma'*).

With uxorilocal and matrilocal residence, it is easy to understand that some informants (e.g. Asala and Maro') say: *ina* is the *tapag* (trunk or stem of a tree) of the household (*tapag no loma'*). Because the Ami also see children as the flower or fruit of a plant, in a big family children could trace their relations through their *ina*.

It is possible to interpret the meaning of *tapag no loma'* from another viewpoint. Usually, a household was led by the oldest *ina*, who was called *tada tapag no loma'* [7], and she was often the *cilisinay* of the barn and the person in charge of the activities connected with the household. However, I doubt that her power was as authoritative as some Japanese and Chinese scholars have imagined.

For instance, when the Japanese governed Taiwan they brought different laws and administrative procedures to Ami society, the household registration system being one of them. Usually the local Japanese officials appointed one member of the *loma'* as the head of the household (*fociw*) on the basis of Japanese customs. Therefore the house and the land belonging to this household were all registered under the name of the *fociw* following Japanese law. For the Ami, the term of *fociw* now implied a kind of right (*mirptay*) over the individual household and its piece of land. This new concept was different from the Ami's traditional concept of the whole village corporately owning the land in and around the village. Furthermore, during the Japanese occupation, when the head of a household died, her eldest daughter inherited her status and all the property under her title. It was because the Japanese thought that Ami kinship was a matriarchal system which was a mirror opposite of the Japanese patriarchal system. Since then, there has been much conflict and tension related to the allocation of properties during household division in the village.[8]

In keeping with uxorilocal custom, a man's role in the household was *mama*, meaning grandfather, father and father's brother. Usually it could indicate all the males

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7 Here *tada* means real.

8 Disputes came from the principles to divide the properties. While some villagers claimed that the law imposed by the government should be obeyed, others insisted on following their own custom.

whose generation was higher than the speaker's. In other words, *mama* was the husband of the *ina*.

However, even if a man was called *mama* by the younger generation, he had another role in his wife's household: he was the son-in-law of his wife's parents and of the senior generation. They called him *kadafo*. An inmarried man's duty in the family was as protector or provider (*misimaway*). He had to provide food and protect the family. In contrast to the *ina*, who were responsible for the domestic work inside the house, the inmarried men usually worked outside the house, engaged in hunting, fishing and collecting food and building materials from the forest.

In the past, *kadafo* meant son-in-law only. Nowadays the Ami also use this term for daughter-in-law, as in the past twenty years or so virilocal marriage has become more and more popular. Therefore, it seems that *kadafo* should be understood as in-marrying person. In traditional Ami society, usually there was more than one couple in a family. How did the family distinguish between the different *kadafo*?

Take an example of three generations living together. From the female point of view, the inmarried men were all seen as married-in persons of the household (*kadafo no loma'*). However, the eldest *kadafo* was called father of the household (*mama no loma'*) and respected by the other household members. When he died, the *kadafo* of the youngest generation might takeover his position. If the *kadafo* of the youngest generation was the only one alive, he could be the father of the household. When these three *kadafo* were all alive, the eldest one called the adjacent one *kadafo* and the youngest one children's *kadafo* (*kadafo no wawa*). On the other hand, the youngest called the older one *mama* and the oldest one father's father (*mama no mama*).

If there are two or more *kadafo* in the same generation of a family, they would call each other *apet*. Furthermore, the husband of the eldest sister was called the *mama no loma'*. *Kadafo* used the kin term *'ali* to refer to his wife's sisters, and the sisters used *'ali* for him too.

However, as an inmarried person, *kadafo* was the most important role for a man to play in his wife's household. He was seen as an outsider and was not absorbed

into his wife's household completely. For example, he worshipped his family's ancestors in his natal household and was not allowed to participate in the ancestor worship of his wife's household. Consequently, in certain rites concerning the ancestors of his wife's household, he was not governed by the ritual prohibitions of his wife's family. In addition to this, according to traditional custom when he was getting old or his wife died, he, as a *kadafo*, was expected to go back to his mother's family (*tatapagan*). Similarly, when he was ill, he should go back to his *tatapagan* to get well. We can imagine the situation of a *kadafo* in his wife's household from another angle. The Ami see, metaphorically, a reliable *kadafo* in a household as the feet of a human body: he should work hard and not complain. Ideally, a *kadafo* should be aware of his status (*magodo*) and respect his wife's family at all times.

As an inmarried *kadafo*, a man had a difficult role to play in his wife's household. It should not be forgotten that there were other organisational arrangements for men to pursue power in the wider village society.[9] Nevertheless, social pressures were the main factor in reinforcing uxorilocality.

Asala and many other male informants told me that, when a man was grown up, as a real adult man, he should bravely leave his own family and marry into his wife's household. Otherwise, people would tease him as a useless man (*mapidahay fainayan*). If a man did not marry, he would become an obstruction to his sister's marriage. The future husband of his sister would not wish to marry in, so the unmarried brother would be criticised as a bad man who liked to watch other people's lives. Therefore, except for the disabled and the sick, a man could not refuse or give up the obligation to be a *kadafo*. As a matter of fact, in traditional society, a single man slept in the men's house at night. Although he belonged to his mother's household, he did not have a role in the domestic life there. He was expected to avoid intervening in the domestic matters of his mother's household and avoid disputes with his *'ali'ali*

[9] The collapse of the Ami's uxorilocality is an interesting topic. Apart from the influences from dominant outsiders (Japanese and Chinese) and wage-earning replacing agrticulture as the major source of household incomes since the 1960s, I suggest that the decline of the male age-group organisation in each village might also have made a significant impact upon this result.

(sister's husband). Some elderly informants (such as Asala) even said that, in the past, if a male did not want to live with his wife's family, the relationships in both families would be disrupted.

One cause of the high frequency of divorce in the past was the lack of commitment by an inmarried man to his wife's household. The Ami call divorce *sasoliyas*, which means separation. Another informal term for divorce is *milaliw*, its original meaning being to go away. In the past, *milaliw* only applied to men, who were living in their wife's house. This happened very often before the Japanese forced them to change their custom. Asala and Lifok said that many men went away from their wife's house perhaps changing their wives four or five times.

There were three grounds for a divorce:

1) By the judgement of the village council (*misa'iloan*)

Adultery (*ma'odagay*) was one of the reasons to dissolve a marriage in this way. If a husband or wife provided strong material evidence (*wcay*) and personal evidence (*paka'araway*), the village council might judge that there should be a divorce. In this case, the household of the offender should be fined a water buffalo or a pig. This kind of offence was ritually threatening and sharing the meat of the animal, given as a fine, among the age-group organisation was a way to purify the act.

Killing people (*cicapaway*) was another reason for divorce. Causing a relative or fellow villager to bleed (even only a drop of blood) was considered to be dangerous. Punishment from the supernatural beings would result from this kind of behaviour. As a consequence, when a case of murder occurred, a divorce would usually soon follow.

2) Divorce under agreement to cure disease (*piaraaw*)

This was an unusual cause for a divorce. When a wife could not become pregnant or she miscarried repeatedly the couple might divorce with the agreement of the relatives. Sometimes, if the husband or the wife were sick for a long period, they might consider a divorce. According to Lifok and Maro', the Ami believed that being sick for a long time or not being able to have children were both a kind of *adada*

(illness of affliction, see section 4.2) and the separation of the couple was one of the possible ways to cure this.

3) Separation and then divorce (*masipolo'ay*)

This was the most frequent manner in the past. No matter what the reason, a couple could divorce in this way. After the first day the husband left his wife's house both of them became *masipolo'ay*. During the first year, the couple could not have any sexual relations with anyone else, otherwise they could be charged with adultery. Within this period, they could reunite through the mediation of relatives or friends; if so the man went back to his wife's house. However, after this deadline, the relationship between the couple would be broken, i.e. they were officially divorced. Then each of them could remarry legally.

However, in the 1930s when the Japanese government set up a complete household registration system, marriages, divorces and births had to be registered under Japanese law, and this changed the Ami's marriage customs in many ways. Asala and Dipon reported that sometimes the Japanese local officials even used physical punishment to discourage a divorce. It was not until 1944 that the first divorce in Iwan was approved by the government. After this, there have been only four cases of divorce in this village to date. Asala and Dipon reported that the Japanese government policy obviously had a significant effect on Ami divorce practices. The impact of these changes on the marriage rite also needs to be examined.

In the 1950s, the most popular marriage rite in Iwan was called *nicopayan*. Copay was a village leader from 1935 to 1955. According to some informants, such as Lifok and Dafak, Copay thought that the traditional wedding was unfair to men, and he introduced a new wedding ceremony which was widely adopted by the villagers. This ceremony was named after Copay, and was a mixture of the traditional ritual (*no to'asho*) and some new elements.[10]

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[10] In the 1980s a new reading of culture, or tradition, was introduced into anthropological debates (e.g. Hobsbawn & Ranger eds.,1983; Cohen,1985). More emphasis was placed upon creativity and manipulation in the maintenance of culture. I suggest that some of the Ami know about the

A traditional wedding usually took place at dusk, which was the time for supper. Therefore, one of the phrases referring to a wedding was *pakalafi'*; this could be translated as inviting someone for supper. However, a formal expression for marriage was *pataloma'*, which meant set up a family. In fact, *pakalafi'* and *pataloma'* were not only two expressions for a wedding but also two styles of wedding.

The Ami called the first marriage of a woman *malickah*, and remarriage *miliyaw ciraramod*. Usually, the *malickah* was very serious for the household and so the villagers normally adopted a *pataloma'* ritual for this wedding. The *miliyaw ciraramod* was less important and therefore only a *pakalafi'* ritual was needed. A typical *pataloma'* ritual is first described.

When the head of a household agreed to accept a man as her son-in-law, the household started to seek an ideal marriage go-between (*kayakay*). It is said that an ideal match-maker should be a man with a happy married life. Under the authorisation of the woman's family, he negotiated with the man's kin. If everything was satisfactory, then the wedding normally took place three days after an agreement had been made.

In the early morning of the wedding day, the go-between went to the bridegroom's house and confirmed the arrangements. Around 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon, he and two or three other people brought some presents from the bride's family to the groom's. These included about 2-3 kilograms of *sidaw* (salted meat), about 1 litre of *'pah* (millet or rice wine), and a some of *hakhak* (sticky rice). Then the go-between and the groom went to the men's house (*sfi*), where the groom's age mates (*kapot*) were waiting for them. On their way to the bride's house, the match-maker led the way and two of the groom's age mates took his knife (*fonos*) and clothes (*kolak*), respectively.

As the groom's party approached the bride's house, the bride went out and waited for their arrival. She stood by the front door of the house, watching them enter

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relationships between tradition and invention and are fully aware of the role of certain individuals (like Copay) in the invention of Ami tradition.

one by one. When everyone was inside, she came in. If the new couple had had sexual relations before the wedding, a special *pakciw* ritual followed. In this ritual, the bride's household put a *kciw* (a piece of roasted pork) on the door step. As everybody entered the house, they had to avoid stepping on it. Asala explained that this ritual purified the new couple. This also implies that in the past sexual intercourse outside marriage was breaching a taboo (*palafoay*).

The supper began immediately after the arrival of the groom's party. They sat down and formed a circle with the salted meat and sticky rice in the centre. These two kinds of food were thought very valuable in the past. The bride did not join them at this stage. When they finished eating, the bride's family took out the wine. The go-between served the wine to everyone in turn (*mitaki*) and at this point the bride joined the group. Meanwhile, the bride's relatives started to drink and sing. After a little while, the match-maker stood up and gave a speech in public to congratulate the couple. Then the *faki* (mother's brother) of the bride performed a *miftir* ritual; this was to inform their ancestors in heaven about the wedding.

After this, the bridegroom's age mates could leave freely. When all of them had gone, the bride's family packed the salted meat, sticky rice, and wine which were prepared for the groom's *kapot* and had not been eaten. They gave these to the go-between as a gift (*trog*) for what he had done.

Then the groom sent the go-between home. He himself slept in the men's house (*sfi*) with his unmarried group members. Early next morning, when the cocks crowed for the first time, he went to the bride's house and slept with her, usually at about two o'clock in the morning.

On the same day, the bride's family held a *paklag* ceremony (see section 1.4) to mark the completion of the wedding ceremony. They also asked the groom's parents or his mother's brothers for supper since they were now relatives by marriage.

An important point worthy of notice is that the marriage payments were from the bride's household to the groom's. While Copay was not against the uxorilocal

custom, he claimed that the traditional wedding was too simple and unfair to men. His invention included the following directions:

a. Increase the size of gift from the bride's family to the groom's. For example, if it was pork, at least half of a pig, otherwise it should be one back leg of a water buffalo. In the case of wine, at least two big pots would be needed. Furthermore, the gift should include a big sticky rice cake (*mokin*), which was of a round shape, about 100cm in radius and 5 cm thick.

b. Increase the present to the go-between. In addition to the food items not consumed by the groom's age mates, there should be added more wine, meat and rice cake.

c. Cancel some ritual elements. For example, the *pakciw* ritual was to be no longer followed. And the custom that the bridegroom should stay in the men's house was abandoned. In other words, the new couple could sleep together after the wedding feast.

d. Some of the wedding elements imposed by the Japanese government were adopted. Among them, the most important one was bowing to the tablet of the Japanese supreme god, *Ametedas* .

e. Both the bride and the bridegroom's families (or even clans) could join together to have a big feast following by singing and dancing. The two families involved should have a *paklag* ritual together, which other families could join.

This changed style was widely accepted in the 1940s and 1950s and its basic structure remains to the present day. As the influences from the outside world increased some new wedding elements were accepted and some old elements were modified.

In the past only a publicly accepted divorcee and a widow or widower could marry again. For a divorcee, marriages were usually held in the *pakalafi* style. The age mates of the groom and the go-between did not need to participate in the wedding. Only some of the *faki* and parents of the new couple joined the wedding. However, if it was the first marriage of the bride her household might have a *pataloma'* style

marriage. Or if the bride's household wanted to demonstrate their welcome toward the groom, they might have more formal *pataloma'* ritual. In any case, the essential element of the wedding was *miftir* by the *faki* to inform the ancestors about this marriage and ask them to bless the new couple.

The marriage ceremony for the widow or widower was almost the same as for a divorcee. However, on the first night after the marriage, a *pala'ed* ritual was performed. This involved putting a banana leaf on the bed between the couple and throwing it away the next morning. Asala explained that this ritual expelled the ghost of the husband's (or wife's) previous spouse. If both the bride and groom were a widow and a widower, the *pala'ed* ritual was unnecessary, because the ghosts of the couple's previous spouses would not trouble the living.

2.3 *Faki, mito'asay* and *pito'asan*

Under the traditional system of uxorilocal residence, a man left his household and lived with his wife in her household. However, he was not severed from his kin and did not lose his natal identity. From a man's point of view, his wife's house was his *pikadafoan*, which meant a place (or house) where he was a *kadafo*. On the other hand, he called his natal household *pinokayan*, which meant a place to which he would eventually return (*nokay*). There is another word to refer to a man's natal household namely *tatapagan*. In the last section I mentioned that for a household, *ina* (mother) was the *tapag* (trunk, stem). Here the meaning of *tatapagan* is one's origin or one's real household. According to custom, a man should be buried by his *tatapagan* (real household) upon his death.[11]

For an outmarrying man, his major role in his natal household was *faki*. The original meaning of *faki* is mother's brother. The terms *mama, kadafo, apet* and *faki*

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11 This custom is still practised by most villagers. The first case of an in-married man's funeral being held by his wife's family happened in May 1993.

were all used for men, but only the term *faki* implied special religious authority and involved some obligations.

There were five different kinds of duties for which a *faki* was responsible: a) To be a *mamiftir*. When his natal household or clan was going to perform a ritual, to expel disaster or to beg for good fortune, he was the main priest. Or when his clan were going to have a wedding, a funeral or any other ritual, he was the priest. b) To be a *mamipaplo*. He was the person who summoned a family or clan to a meeting. c) To be a *mamisakawanan*. He was the judge when there was any dispute in his family or clan. d) To be a *mamikomod*. When there was a feud between his own and some other clans or between his clan and people in other villages, he was the representative of his clan. e) To be a *mamipadag*. If it was necessary, he would help by doing some work for his mother's family. For example, he would help to cultivate a rice field, to build an irrigation system, to set up a new house, or to rebuild an old house etc.

Among these five duties, *mamiftir* was the most important one. In pre-Christian Ami society, only the descendants could ask, in prayer, for their ancestors to ensure their good fortune. Moreover, only mature men, who were normally married into their wives' households, could perform a *miftir* (see Chapter 1) to worship their ancestors in heaven. Therefore, outmarried men were highly respected by their natal households because of their role in ancestor worship. Thus it was understandable that the Ami favoured village endogamy: it kept the *faki* near their natal households while in keeping with uxorilocal residence.

A man was not only a *faki* to his natal household, but he also had this status to all the households of his clan, that is the clan to which his natal household belonged. Therefore, from the point of view of a particular household, its *faki* were not necessarily seeing it as a *tatapagan* (real household). As a result, the term *faki* could be extended to all men who were members of one's clan, belonged to senior generations, and had married into their wives' houses.[12]

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12 Recently some villagers began to use *faki* to refer to women who practised virilocal marriage. However most villagers still apply *faki* to men only.

A generic term for all the *faki* of a household is *fakifaki* or *fafakian*. Normally they are divided into three main categories: (i) *tada faki*, which means senior *faki*. Usually, there are two or three *faki* who are the elders of a clan. In the past, this kind of *faki* performed *miftir* for the household. (ii) *mamirikec faki*, which means junior *faki*. These *faki* organise most of the work during the kinship activities. (iii) *padamaay faki*, which means young *faki*. They are responsible for most of the fatiguing work in kinship activities. In practice, when *fakifaki* are carrying out their duties for a household, these three categories have their different parts to play.

I am of the opinion that the authority of the *faki* was not so overwhelming as some scholars think. For example, from the aforementioned data about the allocation of a *faki*'s duty, it can be seen that his status and authority were actually determined by his age. Furthermore, a man might be the eldest *faki* in his natal family or clan, but if he is too old or too ill to perform the duty of *tada faki*, he must pass his position to someone else. Also, a man might be the eldest of the middle-aged *fakifaki*, but if he did not possess the qualities of leadership, such as being a good speaker, again he could have to give up his role to some other *faki*. Sometimes a *faki* might possess manifold abilities, but he could lose his leadership because of personal immorality; he would be then looked down upon by the relatives.

The Ami not only call the mother's brother *faki*, but in certain situations, they also apply this term to the adult sons of the mother's brother. In order to distinguish these men, the mother's brother is called *faki no loma'*, and the son of the mother's brother is called *mito'asay faki*. Normally the Ami do not use the term *mito'asay faki* but only *mito'asay*. *Mito'asay* is the term which is used by the *faki*'s mother's family (*tatapagan*) and relatives to refer to the *faki* 's children. Reciprocally, *mito'asay* address their father's *tatapagan* as *pito'asan*.

In the kinship system of Iwan, *mito'asay* is as important as *faki*. Some clans even accepted *mito'asay*'s children as *mito'asay*. This kind of *mito'asay* is called *sakatosa mito'asay* (*mito'asay* of the second generation).

Focod is a child whose father is unknown. The people in Iwan could not tolerate a *focod* living with them in the same household. To them a *focod* was a person without clear origins and it was forbidden to let a *focod* live in their house. Doing so might incur a punishment from the supernatural beings in heaven on the household (*mala'fo no loma'*). Therefore, if there was a *focod* in a family, its members would do their best to find out who the child's father was and let the child have a *pito'asan* and enjoy the right of a *mito'asay*.

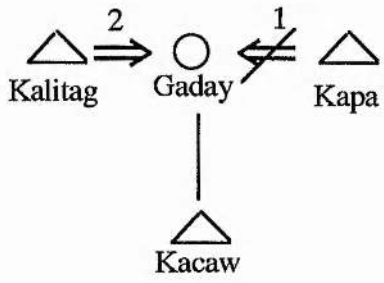
Some elderly informants, such as Asala, said that if a man does not have a *pito'asan* when he is going to join the age-group organisation he will lose face and if a woman does not have a *pito'asan*, no man will be willing to marry her. From this point of view, an inmarried man not only contributed his labour to his wife's household, but also provided a *pito'asan* for his wife's child--to help the child have a complete social personhood.

According to the kinship system (*rayaray no kakakton*) in Iwan, everyone had a *pito'asan*. In other words, everyone was a *mito'asy* of a certain household in the village. If a child was born after a formal marriage, then it was easy to decide his *pito'asan*. If a child was born without a formal marriage or as a result of adultery, then there was a *patooran* custom to decide on the child's *pito'asan*. In such a case, the family of the child would find out who the child's father was before he/she grew up. If a man admitted that he was the father of the child, the child was a *mito'asay* of the man's natal household. According to custom, even if the man had intercourse with another woman, his wife could not accuse him of adultery in this situation. Even if she asked the village council for help, they would not accept her complaint and punish the man. On the other hand, the man's natal household would be delighted to accept the child as their *mito'asay*, because the more *mito'asay* a household had the more proud it was.

There was another unusual way to decide on the *pito'asan* of a child. It happened if a woman was two or three months pregnant when her husband died, or if a couple divorced and the woman later remarried. After the child was born and had

grown up, he/she had the right to choose a *pito'asan* from one of his/her mother's two husbands. This custom is called *misimsiman* (to choose by one's own will). A case from the Ci'okakay clan illustrates this (see Diagram 2-3). Kacaw is the son of Gaday, who had two husbands Kapa' first and then Kalitag. When Kacaw grew up, his physical features and temperament were very similar to Kapa' and every one in the village thought that he must be Kapa's son. Although Kapa's natal household and relatives did their best to tempt Kacaw to become their *mito'asay*, Kacaw chose Kalitag as his legal father and saw Kalitag's clan Pacidal as his *pito'asan*. Kacaw admits that Kapa' might be his biological father, but because Kalitag brought him up he prefers to see Kalitag as his legal father.

Diagram 2-3 A case of choosing *pito'asan*



In general, *mito'asay* (mother's brother's children) had special roles in their father's natal household. For example, male *mito'asay* could behave like a *faki* in their *pito'asan* (father's natal household). In her *pito'asan*, sometimes a female *mito'asay* would be given the status similar to that of her father's sisters. For instance, while a wife could not touch the barn of her husband's *tatapagan*, a female *mito'asay* could enter this sacred place and help in the kitchen when the *pito'asan* had a kinship activity.[13] In fact, according to the Ami, father's sisters' children had a very strong relationship with ego. They were more or less like brother or sister and a marriage between these cousins was a taboo.

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[13] Both *mito'asay* and *pito'asan* are derived from the word *to'as* (ancestor). According to S. Mabuchi (1981), the original meaning of *mito'asay* is: the man who worships the ancestor.

All this indicated that a child had a strong relationship with his/her father's natal household even if he/she normally gained membership of a household from the mother's side. This relationship was also expressed in the personal naming system.

There were three kinds of rite at which personal names were given, namely *pakalimaan, misalifokan,* and *miaraawan.*

Among the three naming rituals, *pakalimaan* was the most common one. After a personal name had been chosen for a new-born baby, a naming ritual would be held in the baby's house as soon as possible. Normally, the person in charge of the ritual (*pagagan*) was the baby's mother, otherwise any female relative would do. In this ritual, the *pagagan* (lit. name-giver) held the baby in her arms and spoke loudly to the audience: Your name is so-and-so. The audience answered with: Oh! you have a wonderful name, so-and-so. We all admire you.

Misalifokan was designed to avoid evil influences and only took place occasionally. For example, if the mother had already had two or three still-born children or children who had died in infancy, the family might consider naming the new baby in the following way. First, the baby was put in a cradle and the cradle was left somewhere outside the house. Then a woman neighbour, who actually had known of the whole arrangement beforehand, picked up the baby and said: Poor baby, who are your parents? Well, let me be your mother. The baby's real mother then answered: Wah! What a beautiful baby. The neighbour replied: If you like it, I can give it to you. The mother said: Fine, let it be my child. Then the mother holding the baby re-entered the door and said to the audience: I have got a baby. Let us call it so-and-so. The audience answered with: Wonderful, our child so-and-so.

Miaraawan was a name-changing ritual, which was held in very unusual circumstances, e.g. when a baby or a child had a serious disease or had bad luck. One of the possible explanations was that the name did not match the soul, i.e. that the soul did not like the name. After seeking advice from the bamboo oracle, the parents might decide to perform a *miaraawan*. If the ritual was for a baby, then it would be very easy. A woman sat down holding the baby and another woman pulled its ear till he/she

cried, and the ear-puller said: Now your name is so-and-so. The whole *miaraawan* ritual would be completed in this simple way. However, if the ritual was for a child over five, in addition to the aforementioned ritual, another ritual called *misalifog* followed. The purpose of the *misalifog* ritual was to drive out the evil *kawas*. Usually, it was conducted by the baby's *faki* (mother's brother) or a local healer. Furthermore, this ritual needed to end with a *paklag*; which was normally the final ceremony in a formal ritual (see section 1.4).

From the naming rituals, two important conclusions concerning the *mito'asay/pito'asan* can be reached. Firstly, in these rituals, the presence of people from the father's natal household was essential. It reminds us that the bestowal ritual usually coincides with, or constitutes the child's acceptance as a member of his group, his recognition as a "social person" (Bean, 1980:310). Obviously, one of the purposes of the naming rituals was for the *pito'asan* to accept the child formally as their *mito'asay*. Secondly, personal names were inherited. The Ami believed that while a baby had a name from his/her senior relatives he/she would not only inherit the name itself but also the personality and fortune of the previous name owner.[14] A child had an equal chance of being named after his senior relatives both from his mother's and father's side.

In the past, a child normally achieved membership in a household from his/her mother's side. Therefore in terms of ancestor worship, a person's membership was usually the same as his/her mother's.[15] However, this was mainly a result of matri-uxorilocal residence custom rather than a manifestation of matrilineal descent ideology. It will be discussed in the following sections.

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14 Mohome (1972:72) mentions that for the Basotho, a Bantu speaking people, one person named after another will "take on his good character".

15 However why they call their father's natal household *pito'asan*, and why they are called *moto'asay* by their father's household needs further study. More work on the Ami's conception of personhood and the contribution of both father and mother to the position of a child in the community, might throw some light on this issue, and contribute to our understanding of the nature of the Ami kinship system.

2.4 Marriage residence and kinship

The term *mi'aliay* means a person who marries someone from outside the village. In the past, this term usually referred to a man. When he wanted to marry a woman from another village he had to report to his *kapot* (age mates) and accept the punishment from the age-group organisation and then left the village.

There were some more complicated procedures to be followed when a woman took her husband from another village. His origins and status would be checked carefully; for example, which village, clan and household he belonged to, and whether his age-mates in his home village had agreed to his leaving or not. Then the household which organised this marriage was required to comply with the following principles: they must follow the marriage custom of Iwan and they should entertain the groom's new age-mates with a feast within one month. At the same time, there was a ritual (*pakapotay*) for the groom to join the age-group organisation of Iwan.

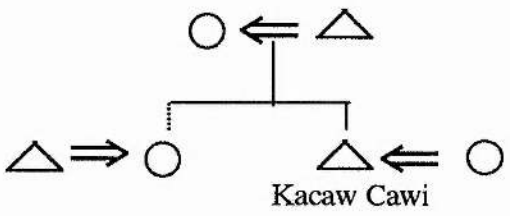
Actually, each person in Iwan had his *tatapagan* (lit. real family, see section 2.3). A man who married and moved into Iwan had his *tatapagan* too. But because he had left his own village and household, he could not keep in touch with his relatives regularly. So he could choose one household in Iwan as his *tatapagan.* According to the custom, a person who married into Iwan from other village (*mi'aliay*) could choose any household outside his wife's clan as his *tatapagan.* But usually he would choose a household which had the same clan name as he had in his home village; this chosen *tatapagan* was expected to look after him and help him have a happy life in his wife's house.

To mark the entry of a new member into a *tatapagan*, all the heads of households and *fakifaki* in the clan would gather on a chosen night for a *palatapagan* (ceremony). This ceremony involved just chatting and drinking among the relatives and the new member. However, after it, the *mi'aliay* had the same right, position and duty as any other *faki* in that clan. This ceremony suggests that everybody in the

village should belong to an ancestor worshipping group, and that this was achieved through household membership.

Now to examine some examples of virilocal marriage in the past. In my opinion, the study of how and why the erosion of what had been the norm of uxorilocal marriage, gives a very important insight into Ami socio-cultural change. Although the total collapse of uxorilocality occurred mainly during the 1970s some much earlier cases of virilocality are worthy of examination.

Diagram 2-4 First virilocal marriage in Iwan



The case of Kacaw Cawi

Kacaw Cawi (see Diagram 2-4) was the first person in Iwan to stay in his mother's household after his marriage. He was born in 1905, and his mother had only one child. When Kacaw was about to marry, the family worried about the succession and about who would take care of the aged mother. According to Ami custom, there was nothing to worry about. Kacaw's household could simply come back to its *tatapagan* (root household, see next section) or it could unite with any household in their clan. But the Japanese governors heard about this story and decided to take this opportunity to introduce the virilocal marriage practice to the villagers[16]. Even when the *fakifaki* of the clan and the village leaders had been persuaded by the governors, they could not find any woman in the village who wanted to marry Kacaw in this

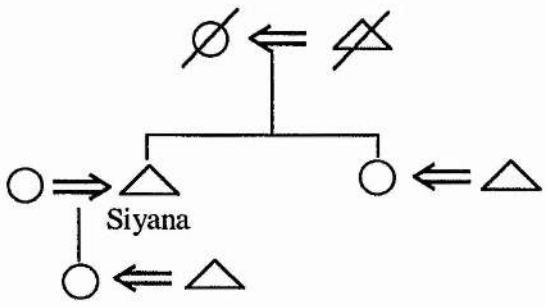
16 Many Japanese (and Chinese as well) thought that the matri-uxorilocal residence of the Ami was abnormal. Therefore it is reasonable to understand why the Japanese officials were so keen on introducing the patri-virilocal custom to the Ami.

abnormal way. Finally, a woman married Kacaw; she was from a poor family far away from Iwan. Although Kacaw's mother now had a daughter-in-law to live with her, she felt she lacked something. Therefore, she adopted a female baby from another family of non-Ami aboriginal group. After several years, Kacaw divorced his wife who then took their two children back to her home village. Kacaw then married again and entered into his new wife's household as *kadafo* (married-in man). The natal household of Kacaw was finally inherited by his adopted sister. This case shows that the main concerns of the Ami involved the continuity of a household and the taboo of entering a barn belonging to a different ancestor worship group. The following two cases also concern these same values.

The case of Siyana

Siyana's case (see Diagram 2-5) occurred in 1930. His mother had two children: Siyana and his elder sister. His sister had a uxorilocal marriage but did not have any children. Therefore the family decided to let Siyana have a virilocal marriage. However, they could not find any woman in their village willing to marry him in this way. Eventually, they found a woman from a nearby village. Nevertheless, according to the custom, after the marriage Siyana's wife could not touch the barn of the household and this work was done by his sister.

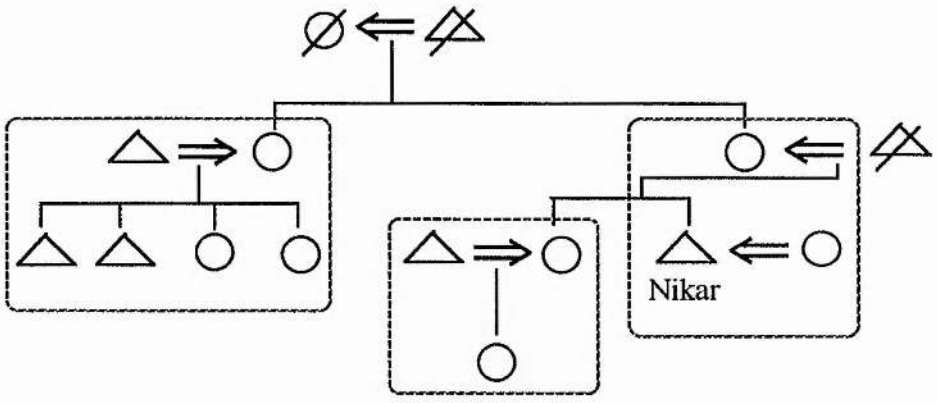
Diagram 2-5 A virilocal case in 1930



The case of Nikar

In the 1940s, the Japanisation movement[17], which was led by the government, reached its peak. Not only did some young Ami imitate the Japanese way of life in such matters as food, clothes, and housing, but also in the use of Japanese names and the use of Japanese in daily life. In this environment, Nikar, a young man of the village who had been educated by the Japanese to a higher level than his comtemporaries, spread a new idea among the villagers: Uxorilocal marriage is the shame of the Ami. He insisted on his right to virilocal residence and married a girl from Ci'oporan clan. However, there were some compromises between this new couple and Nikar's family: i) In order to avoid punishment from the ancestors, two couples (one was Nikar's sister, the other was his mother's sister) separated from the household and formed two new households. ii) Nikar and his wife lived with his mother. His mother was still the head of the household, and governed the barn. Nikar's wife was not allowed to enter the barn. iii) When Nikar's daughter grew up, she would take over the duty of governing the barn from her grandmother.

Diagram 2-6 Nikar's case of virilocal marriage



17 The Japanese government encourage the people of Taiwan, including the aborigines and the Chinese, to speak the Japanese language at home and adopt Japanese customs. Those households that complied with the government's wishes received better treatment. Rations for such households were larger and better quality.

Papikday marriage

After the war, there appeared another style of virilocal marriage called *papikday*. This refers to the marriage pattern of *misakayay*, a new term which appeared in the village in the later period of the Japanese rule. All the villagers who left Iwan and earned their living by labour were called *misakayay*. The term *sakay* in Japanese means society and the meaning of *misakayay* is roughly people belonging to the great society. Kacaw Kapa', 'Adop Sawmah and Li'ay Lapag were three men who all worked in a lumber factory run by the Japanese. Their wives and children all lived with them in Chenggung, a town about 30 km away from Iwan. After the end of the war, these three men lost their jobs and came back to Iwan with their families. Because they considered themselves to be civilised *misakayay*, each refused to rejoin his wife's household and clan. Although they were criticised by the villagers and their relatives, they finally achieved their goal of setting up new household and their wives became inmarrying women (*omaro'ay fafahiyan*). The new households consequently joined the husbands' kin groups rather than the wives'. The Ami call this kind of marriage pattern *papikday* (to reverse).

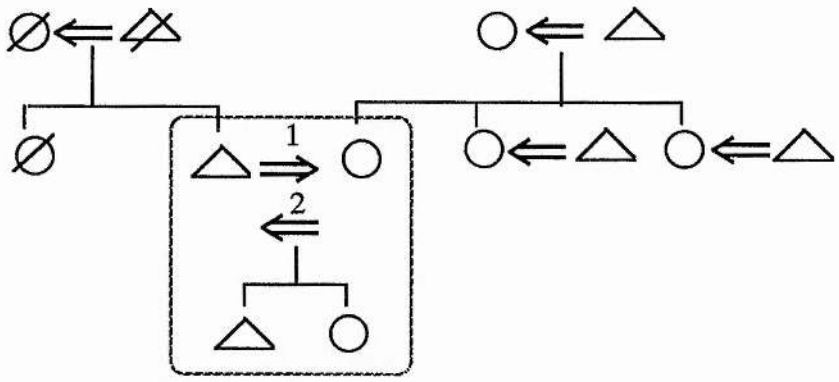
My informants (such as Asala, Lifok and Maro') said that, if couples married in the *papikday* style lived in the husband's natal household, then the wife was not allowed to touch the barn, because she was seen as an outsider from the ancestor worshipping group. However, in these cases, the barn of the new household was set up by the couple and it had no connection with the husband's mother or sisters. Therefore, the wife could enter the barn but the husband's mother and sisters could not.

Patamdaway marriage

Another pattern, *patamdaway*, is similar to *papikaday*. Its literal meaning is to remedy, and its function is to solve the inheritance problem of a household. Sowana was a man who belonged to Cilagasan clan. He married into his wife's household and had two children. When his children were grown up, his mother died and no one could

inherit his natal household. After the negotiation between the two clans, Sowana took his wife and children, left his wife's house, and became the head of his natal household. Because his wife was an inmarried woman (*mikadafoay*) after this change, she was not allowed to enter the barn. The duty of governing the barn was carried out by her daughter, who was originally the *mito'asay* of Sowana's natal household and therefore it was not taboo for her to do that.

Diagram 2-7 A case of changing marriage direction



All these cases show that the post-marital residence of a couple is very important for the Ami. It determines not only a household's kinship connection with the husbands or the wife's kin groups but also their children's memberships of a particular kin group.

2.5 *Laloma'an* and *gasaw*

Many past studies describe the Ami kinship system as composed of matrilineal lineages. A typical example is Wei's (1961). According to him, the Ami not only had a matrilineal descent ideology but also had a segmentary lineage organisation. This kind of study is influenced by the lineage theory (or descent theory) which is based on an African model (cf. Kuper, 1982). After 1960, many studies in other regions, such as New Guinea (Barnes, 1962; de Lepervanche, 1967-1968) and Oceania (Keesing,

1970), have challenged the value of the African model. For example, Barnes (1962:5) suggests that: "it has become clear that Highland societies fit awkwardly into African moulds". Even in some African studies scholars doubt this lineage theory (cf. Holy, 1979; Verdon, 1982). Some recent Ami studies (e.g. Suenari, 1983; W. Chen, 1987) began to investigate whether there was a matrilineal descent ideology among the Ami in this context. Following this trend, in this study I take the household not the matrilineal lineage as the basic unit in Ami society.[18]

An independent household (*ccayay a loma'*) includes at least a couple and one of their children. However, in the past, very often more than one couple lived in a house, and members of a household could separate from this extended family and form a new household if they fulfilled the basic requirements. The new household regarded the original household as their *tatapagan*. As explained earlier, the original meaning of *tapag* is trunk or stem of a tree. For an outmarried man his natal household is his *tatapagan* (real origin or real household). However, when one talks about the relation of two households, the precise translation for *tatapagan* is root family. On the other hand, the *tatapagan* regarded the household which separated from them as *ciloma'ay*. The literal meaning of *ciloma'ay* is members of the same household, but in this instance branch family is a more suitable term.

The reasons for a new household separating from their *tatapagan* are varied, differing over time, but in general, disputes within a big family have been the fundamental reason.[19] After achieving an agreement in a kinship meeting, the couple who wanted to leave would prepare all the material to set up their new house. Then their clan would help them to build the house, except the kitchen, which should be set up by the couple themselves. After that, they performed a ritual to inform their ancestors of their intentions.

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18 Some scholars (e.g. Errington, 1987, 1989; Fox, 1987) have suggested the house or house societies as an analytical concept to understand Southeast Asian societies. I wish to do some studies among the Ami from this perspective in the near future.

19 As dispute and argument are common reasons for dividing a household, household division can be used as a mechanism to maintain the unity and harmony within a single household.

For the Ami, the relations between *tatapagan* and *cilomaay* are irreversible, and they see the *tatapagan* as more important than the *cilomaay*. For example, in dividing property between two households the ratio is about 3:1 in favour of the *tatapagan*. When there is a kinship gathering, usually the *tatapagan* was chosen rather than the *cilomaay* as the place for the activity to take place. When there was any crisis which might cause the extinction of the *tatapagan*, such as no one to inherit it or facing a serious financial difficulty, relatives would give priority to sorting out the problems. Two households with *tatapagan* and *cilomaay* relationships interact on a social basis more regularly than two unrelated households.

Because potentially each household can split again and again over time, the patterns of household relations among each clan are different. Basically the Ami use three terms to describe the *tatapagan-cilomaay* complex of several households, vertical style (*marayarayay a kaciloma'*), horizontal style (*mahifalatay a kaciloma'*) and mixed style (*masacapa'ay a kaciloma'*). No matter to which style a household belongs, people try to trace back their origins through their *tatapagan*. It is important to note that in Ami society, genealogical reckoning is not of great concern; people are more conscious of their relationships through the *tatapagan-cilomaay* concept.

If several households have a *tada tatapagan*, they will call themselves *laloma'an* (lit. households group).[20] The translation of *laloma'an* is *ccayayho a loma'*—still a household. From another point of view, *laloma'an* means a group of households with a clear *tatapagan-cilomaay* relationship. Therefore I will translate it into English as households group. It must be pointed out that this group did not share any common property (such as land or a shrine). If the pivotal *tada tatapagan* is extinct or has moved out from the village, the rest of households in this group will become a households group without a common origin (*awa tatapagan a lomaloma'*). They would not be called *laloma'an* any more. If two households cannot be linked through a clear *tatapagan-cilomaay* relationship, their association is the same as two households in a clan.

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20 Another meaning of *laloma'an* is the land that belongs to a household.

Gasaw (clan) is a very important concept in social life in Iwan even now. Everyone should belong to a clan just as everybody should belong to a household (*loma'*), otherwise one cannot claim membership of the village (*niyaro'*). On the one hand, people use their clan to express their origins and social identity; on the other hand, clan functions as an exogamous unit and as a social organisation, ensuring the fulfillment of social tasks, such as co-operation in funerals, weddings and agricultural work. However, although a clan had a name, it did not own communal property. In general, people belonging to a clan tend to think that their ancestors had the same origin. When people from other older villages (e.g. Kiwit and Makuta'ay) migrated to Iwan, households with the same clan names, even though they might originally be from different villages, would help each other. This is the possible origin of the clan custom in Iwan. These households might not have been directly related but they assumed that in the past their ancestors might have the *tatapagan* and *cilomaay* relationship therefore they used their traditional clan name to form a clan group in Iwan. However, the Ami did not create a new clan name or join another existing clan without serious thought, and so some Ami believe that what is now a clan was once a single household unit.

According to T. Mabuchi (1935) there are 62 clan names among the Ami. In his opinion, a clan in each village could be called a localised clan. There are nine traditional clan names in Iwan: Cilagasan, Ci'okakay, Monali, Sadipogan, Cikatopay, Fakog, Ci'oporan, Pacidal and Ciwidian. Among each of them there are up to four households groups which recognise a household as their origin (*tatapagan*) and the rest of the households have separated out from this *tatapagan* at different times.

In Iwan, the word *gasaw* is similar to *malinaay*. The literal meaning of *malinaay* is siblings of same mother (*ina*), but its extended meaning is the people who are descended from the same ancestor. According to Asala and Lifok, the word *malinaay* was created around the middle 1940s, while the word *gasaw* has been used by the Ami for a much longer time. However, the implication of *gasaw* and *malinaay* was roughly the same, that was: a group of people, who worshipped the same ancestors (*ccayayho ko kawas*), who were originally from the same navel (*ccayayho ko*

kton no pona), whose ancestors shared the same stove (*ccayayho ko parod*) and whose ancestors shared the same house (*ccayayho ko loma'*).

The relationship between the members in a *gasaw* or *malinaay* is not entirely clear. My field work data shows that when the Ci'okakay first moved to Iwan, there were not enough members to form an independent clan, and the whole group of Ci'okakay joined the already established Monali clan. This clan-merging action was achieved through a *pagasaw* ritual in which the ancestors were informed of what was being done. Around the late 1940s, after the number of their households and manpower had increased, the Ci'okakay decided to leave Monali and became an independent clan, using their original clan name Ci'okakay. It shows that, like the New Guinea Highland societies (cf. de Lepervanche, 1968), the *gasaw* is loosely structured and outsiders are easily incorporated (cf. Suenari,1971).

The story of the Pacidal clan also demonstrates the fluidity of clan organisation. This clan was separated from Ci'oporan during the 1920s after a bitter dispute over the use of land among the *fakifaki* (mother's brothers). As a result of this dispute two households left Ci'oporan and claimed that they were an independent clan. However, many villagers believed that this new clan, named Pacidal, actually came from the same ancestor as Ci'oporan. Furthermore, they noticed that this clan was different from other groups named Pacidal in other villages. This accusation implied that these people who were using the title of Pacidal in Iwan actually had the same origin as the people of Ci'oporan but they used Pacidal to justify their independence.

However, for most of the villagers, to choose a suitable clan name is still very important. For example, among the Ci'oporan there are two apparent households groups and both of them have different Chinese surnames: Lin and Liu.[21] The Lin group, whose ancestors settled down in Iwan first, has three households, but the Liu group, whose ancestors came to Iwan later, has eight households. The younger

[21] After 1946 all the aborigines in Taiwan were forced by the Chinese Nationalist government to use Chinese names for household registration (see Chapter 5). Since then the Chinese family name system has been integrated into the Ami kinship organisation.

generation of Liu hope to separate from Lin as an independent clan. However the older generation voted against this attempt and the young men still have no idea of how to choose a suitable name if they insist on separating from the Ci'oporan. These two unresolved factors keep the Ci'oporan temporarily together.

This situation is similar to the Fakog clan. Actually, there are two functioning Fakog clan in Iwan, both of them claiming to be the real Fakog.[22] One of the Fakog clan has eight households and used the Chinese surname Kao after the war. Another Fakog has six households and they chose the Chinese surname Wang to distinguish them from the Kao group. It is said that originally these two households groups came from different villages. Since they had the same clan name, they co-operated as a clan when they moved into Iwan. However, shortly after the war, a small dispute between these two groups led to their separation.

From this data, we can see that the *gasaw* is not a kinship group purely based on a matrilineal descent ideology; in fact in order to achieve certain aims, people can and do move between groups and create new groups.[23] During these manoeuvres, the concept of *kawas* is always important. For example, when a new group is joining an established clan, a ritual to inform the ancestors is essential in the *pagasaw* ceremony. The concept of a common remote ancestor holds most of the clan together, even though the relationship between households groups in each clan is not always clear. For two separated clans, such as Pacidal and Ci'oporan, there is a prohibition on intermarriage. Members of the two Fakog clans not only respect the ban on intermarrying but also help each other in certain important rituals, such as funerals and weddings.

In the Japanese period, the Ami in Iwan still thought of some villages as their home village (*lgaw no tatapagan*). They interacted with home villages and with their clans in other villages. For example, they visited relatives in other villages (*palafag*) and very often participated in the funeral of relatives (*micohog*). Sometimes relatives

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22 These two groups are on bad terms with each other and they are competing for the legitimacy of using the term Fakog.

23 Therefore, as we might expect, there was not any correlation between segmentation and genealogical distinctions such as those described by Wei (1961).

from different villages might come and ask for help (*micakay*), and when they met other Ami in other places, no matter whether in the army or at school, they would try to find out if there were any people from other villages with the same clan name. This kind of interaction decreased after the war.

Due to the frequency of uxorilocal marriage in the past and *tatapagan-cilomaay* relationship, the Ami trace their kinship relations mainly through their mother's side. Therefore, sometimes when they are talking about *laloma'an* (lit. households group) this word is interchangeable with another word *malinaay* which is a derivative of *ina* (mother). The young sometimes use *malinaay* to refer to their *gasaw* group. However, for some older informants, such as Asala, the distinction between *malinaay* and *gasaw* is very clear: *Malinaay* is the descent from the same mother (*papasdak no malwinaay*), and their origins from the same female ancestress. It implies that when the old people mention their ancestors, which is an essential factor in organising their social group, the female ancestress is not the only one they refer to. I found out that in many cases nowadays the Ami avoid using any word originating from *ina* (mother) when they are talking about their ancestry system. Rather they use *to'as* (a neutral word for ancestor/ancestress) or even *kawas* —a generic term for all supernatural beings. In other words their concept of ancestry is vague, flexible and does not necessarily imply matrilineal descent.[24] Furthermore, I agree with W. Chen (1987) that the so-called matrilineal lineage in Ami society is actually expanded from the household across several generations under the condition of practising uxorilocal post-marital residence.

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[24] From the cases that I have mentioned in the previous section, I even suspect that the linkage of households through a kinship idiom was symbolically created by the building and sharing of a barn. However, more work is needed to clarify this issue.

2.6 Village and villagers

Village (*niyaro'*) was the largest social unit in traditional Ami society. In essence, *niyaro'* was a non-kin human group through which people living in the same settlement site united together to achieve some common purpose. The location of a village is called *masaniyaro'ay*. Another term for it is *loma'loma'an*, meaning a place where many households have settled down. Therefore the houses, which were owned and lived in by each succesive household, were the major constituent parts of a village.

Inside the settlement site, there were areas shared by all the villagers called *no kapologan*. In the early 1950s, there were several *no kapologan* within Iwan. The most important ones were the men's house or the common meeting places (*sfi*). There were two *sfi* at that time; the first one was the traditional one (*tada sfi*) which was not only the meeting place for conducting village business but also a dormitory for single male adults. Women were forbidden to enter it. If there was a legal case concerning a woman, she could sit in the corridor, but was not allowed to speak loudly, even a single word. Another *sfi* was set up by the Japanese government in 1935. The government used it to teach the adult Ami some 'modern knowledge'[25], such as Japanese language, military training, etc.

As well as these two *sfi*, there was a common bath area which was also important in the Ami's daily life. There was not a building for this function, but people used a certain section of the Iwan Brook to have a bath in the evening. The upper stream (*fafaw*) was used by men and the down stream (*rarem*) was used by women.

Before 1945, during their control of the whole of Taiwan, the Japanese had tried to set up several facilities in the village in order to improve the Ami's living conditions. For example, they built several public lavatories (*tatai'an*), dug three wells (*tfon*), and set up a public rubbish dump (*palakawan*). However, except for the common graveyard (*pitadman*), the Japanese's efforts were not very successful. Even

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25 From Japanese point of view.

as far as the common graveyard is concerned, there are still some complaints among the elderly Ami as, according to custom, a dead person should be buried by his family in their own back yard. After the government forced them to use the common graveyard, some Ami claimed that the dead person became a ghost rather than an ancestor. This made blessings from the ancestors unlikely; and some people referred to the lack of ancestral blessing to explain their family's misfortune.

Before they moved to their new settlement site at the beginning of this century, the people in Iwan had lived in an independent territory. Around the settlement site, there was plenty of land which the village owned corporately. The boundary of the village was recognised by the villagers and by nearby villages. The nearest village north of Iwan is called Ta'man and to the south there is another village called Tomi'ac. Iwan used to share North Iwan Brook and South Iwan Brook as natural boundaries with these two villages, respectively. To the east there is the Pacific Ocean and to the west there are mountains and a forest. Since the ocean and the forest were full of dangers, it is said that a clearer boundary was unnecessary.

There were five categories of land outside the settlement site. The first one was a vegetable garden which was in a safe place near the settlement site so that even women and children could go there by themselves in the day-time. Each household had a right to the use of this land. Usually the Ami grew sweet potatoes, yams, beans and other vegetables for their own needs. Most of this garden land was used as the new settlement site when the village moved from its previous location.

The land for growing millet was located in a place considered to be more dangerous than the settlement site and the place to grow vegetables. It was to the west of the settlement site, where enemies were supposed to appear from the nearby forest. Traditionally, the Ami practised slash-and-burn agriculture. Each year one of three pieces of dry farm-land was used, the other two being left fallow. The age-group organisation and the village council had the right to distribute the land to each household in the village. The age-group organisation also did regular patrols to protect the crops from enemies and animals. However, each household itself did most of the

agricultural work. In addition to millet, people normally grew green beans and tobacco plants in this area. After the early 1930s, the Japanese encouraged the Ami to grow rice in paddy fields. As a result, some of the dry farm-land was transferred to paddy fields which were owned by each household.

The uses of the three streams were also important in daily life. The most important of them, Iwan Brook, was divided into three sections. The upper one was closed, except for fishing by the age-group organisation twice a year. The middle section was reserved for the village councillors. They could fish there when they had a meeting or when an important person from outside was visiting the village. The down stream section was open to all the villagers. They took a bath or collected their drinking water there. There was no restriction on the use of the other streams. However, on the last day of a household rite, there was usually a special programme called *paklag* and in this ritual, people used to fish in these streams.

The ocean and forest were open to anyone all the year. People went to these places for hunting, fishing, and gathering. In the past, the whole village boiled sea water to make salt at certain times each year. In the forest, there was a common farm in which each household kept their water buffaloes. These animals were used in transportation and ploughing and they were also a source of meat. Over the last twenty years, the number of water buffaloes has been decreasing gradually. However, even now some households still keep their water buffaloes in this common farm.

In the past, when people passed the boundary of Iwan, they entered an outside world (*pala no tao*). Within the boundary of a village, everything was familiar to, and in the control of, its inhabitants. Outside this boundary, everything was unpredictable and dangerous. Since this world was beyond the control of their own *kawas*, it was unfamiliar to them. It is said, for example, that when one crossed the South Iwan Brook or the North Iwan Brook to the outside world, one's soul might be frightened, and might not follow one's body. If this happened, a person might be sick or even die. This kind of sickness was called *mapala* (to lose one's soul).

In order to deal with this kind of problem, there was a special rite called *misapala.* It consisted in praying to one's own soul which one had to do immediately when one reached the outside world. The prayer was a simple one: O, friend (it means soul here), we have entered the outsider's land, or Come on, friend, don't be frightened, don't be lost, this is also our land now, come on.

Before the end of the war only a few young men left Iwan for school and army service. In order to avoid the trouble of *mapala*, these men brought some soil and water from their home-land. When they arrived at their destinations, they spread this soil and water on the foreign land and prayed: O! This is my home-land now. Even today some families still do this occasionally in urban Taiwan.

Although the territory owned by the village as a whole was very important, Asala and Lifok insist that, villagers (*gasagasaw*) were the most essential element to constitute a village. They further claim that a village should have at least two clans because without a *tao* (other people or people belonging to a different clan), whom can the young people marry? Actually, in the Ami language, *gasagasaw* is the plural form of *gasaw*. This confirms the marriage practice which I mentioned above: clan exogamy and village endogamy. In addition to this, it implies that in the past a village should not only ideally be independent in economic terms (see next chapter) but also could reproduce itself in social terms.

Basically, there are two kinds of relationships among the villagers: one for those who belong to the same kinship group and one for those who do not. This kind of distinction was very important in organising social life, such as marriages, agricultural work and the like. It was particularly important at the time of death. In the 1950s, the most popular funeral practice was called *no Dipogan* (lit. Japanese style). In fact the funeral ritual was a mixture of Ami tradition (*no mato'asayho*) and of the practice introduced by the Japanese government.

The Ami traditional funeral was very varied even before the influences of the Japanese. For example, some funerals took less than half an hour while some might take more than three days. A simple funeral only needed to be conducted by a *faki*

(mother's brother), but a complex one needed help from a *cikawasay* (local healer). There were two underlying principles to decide which kind of funeral should be held. The first principle was concerned with the cause of the death. There were two categories of death: natural death (*no adada apatay*) and unnatural death (*no magta'ay*). The original meaning of the former was death because of disease. In other words, in a normal situation, a man should die in his house after suffering a disease. The latter included death in child-birth, death due to accidental poisoning, death on the battlefield, and suicide[26]. Since the Ami believed that a person who died in an unnatural way could not become an ancestor, the funeral for him/her was normally not so important as for the person who had died naturally.

The status of the dead person was another principle in determining the type of funeral. A still-born child would be buried just like rubbish or the corpse of an animal. As one would expect, a funeral for a child and a funeral for an old person were very different. The older the person was, the more formal was his/her funeral. Furthermore, a man who held a special title, such as a traditional healer, or a leader of the village, had a more complicated funeral than an ordinary person.

A funeral for an ordinary person who had died in a natural way included several different stages. First, when he/she was dying, his/her relatives would call out his/her real name (*tada gagan*)[27] again and again. This activitiy was called *mi'aga'ag*. When there was no answer from the dying person, a dressing-up ritual (*milosid*) began. It was normally done by male relatives over forty years of age. Women could only be assistants in this situation. Then the corpse was put into a coffin (*pacomod*). If the person had passed away in the morning and most of the key relatives had gathered quickly, it was possible to perform a *misalisin* ritual to inform the ancestors in heaven about this funeral. Then burial (*mitadem*) was followed by a blessing (*mitapdoh*). After this, older relatives and family members attended a supporting ritual for the dead

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[26] Suicide was seen as being shameful and selfish by the villagers. Not only because people committed suicide did not become ancestors and therefore they could not help their living families, but also because it meant a loss of manpower for their household.

[27] A nickname was not allowed to be used on this occasion.

person (*packat*) under the instructions of traditional healer. At the same time, young relatives would go to the forest to collect food. All the relatives had a simple supper consisting of the food supplied by the youth. It was called *paklag*. If the person passed away in the afternoon or the major relatives could not come quickly, the close family might keep night watch in the dead person's house talking and joking all the night. The *misalisin, mitadem, mitapdoh* and *pacakat* rituals take place on the second day. All these rituals were followed by a very important ceremony called *micohog* (household-visiting ceremony). The household members were led by an elderly relative to visit all the households which had a kinship relation with the dead person. The main point was to promise to continue their relationship. During the same day, all the young people went out to collect food; this was the preparation for the *paklag* feast. After the supper shared by all the relatives, the funeral came to an end. The relatives from other households could go home then.

Normally, only the relatives aged over forty participated in the funeral. Furthermore, according to custom, during the day of the burial, villagers should not do any agricultural work. It was believed that, Asala said, if someone worked on the day of the burial, the soul of the dead person would follow him/her to the field and this would eventually result in a bad harvest for their family.

Because of the Japanese influence, funeral customs were changed in several ways. A death certificate had to be obtained which could take longer than 24 hours. Quick funerals took place in the past, but since the intervention of the Japanese, this has no longer been possible. The Japanese also set up a common graveyard and forced the Ami to bury their dead there. The government not only ordered the Ami to mark each tomb with the dead man's name, but also to commemorate the dead man with a wooden tablet bearing his name. This tablet was put inside the house beside the tablet of the Japanese supreme god. Furthermore, because the dead were buried in the graveyard, not in the back garden of their house, a funeral procession took place.

In a traditional wedding the groom's *kapot* (age mates) was deeply involved, and in a pre-Christian naming ritual the presence of relatives from the father's side

(*pito'asan*) was seen as important. But only those people belonging to the same ancestor worshipping group as the dead person could participate in his/her funeral[28]. Furthermore, on the day of the burial, all the villagers should stay at home and no agricultural work was allowed. This taboo was not about protecting the honour of the dead but rather about avoiding punishment from the deceased who might become angry; one person's protecting ancestor can be seen as a dangerous ghost by another person.

In village life, *gasaw* was the idiom through which villagers organised their kinship system and the formal relationships between any two *gasaw* were not very important in village life.[29] But how did villagers who belonged to different kinship systems integrate together? I suggest that they did so through the male age-group organisation (*finawlan*) and village council (*masakapotay*) which will be discussed in the following two sections.

2.7 *Finawlan* (male age-group organisation)

The male age-group organisation was very important for the Ami in Iwan.[30] In an earlier period, the major task of age-group organisation was to protect the territory of the village. In the beginning, the people of Iwan, came from different villages, and had different ideas of how to organise themselves. There were many differences of opinion even about the name of the organisation. Some people proposed *kasakapotkapot*, some

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[28] Asala explained that after one's death, one was going back (*nokay*) to rejoin one's ancestors, thereby emphasising the importance of the ancestor worshipping group in a funeral.

[29] In other words, like the cases in New Guinea, kinship structure did not "provide a framework for political relations" (de Lepervanche, 1968:175). This is another instance in which the African lineage model does not fit the Ami case.

[30] There are two main types of age-system in anthropological literature: age-grading and age-setting (Gulliver, 1968; Baxter and Almagor, 1978:2). The Ami age-group organisation is a good example of an age-setting system (cf. C.Chen,1965; W.Chen,1989). Further approaches have been suggested by Spencer (1990).

preferred *kasaslaslal*, and some suggested *kasawidawidag* or *kasafacfag*. These terms referred to the male age-group organisation in the villages from which the people of Iwan came. Finally, the villagers agreed on a new word for this group in Iwan, *finawlan*, which means a crowd or people from different groups.

Table 2-1 Age-group organisation in Iwan (July, 1993)

category	name of group	year of birth of group members	year of initiation of group members
kalas	La'iic	1906-1908	1923
	Lafodo'	1908-1911	1926
	Lahokec	1912-1915	1929
	Lacocok	1916-1918	1932
	Lakomaw	1919-1920	1937
	Latoko	1921-1925	1940
	Latiri'	1926-1928	1943
mato'asay	Laanoh	1929-1930	1946
	Lamingkok	1931-1934	1949
	Lakomih	1935-1935	1952
	Lafatad	1937-1938	1955
	La'okak	1939-1940	1957
	Lahitay	1941-1944	1959
	Lasikang	1945-1947	1961
	Lahokey	1948-1949	1963
	Lasi'lac	1950-1951	1965
	Lakokay	1952-1955	1968
	Latifo	1956-1957	1971
kapah	Lahalac	1958-1960	1974
	Lasagkiyo	1961-1962	1977
	Laalapo	1963-1966	1980
	Latigwa	1967-1970	1983
	Lakayakay	1971-1973	1986
	Lapakcag	1974-1976	1989
pakarogay		1977-1980	1992

The basic features of age-group organisation in Iwan were as follows:

1) All the adult males in Iwan had to join this organisation after initiation. In the past this was not only an honour but also a duty for a man.

2) The men, who pass the initiation rite at the same time, form a small group (*kapot*) which is a sub-division of the age-group organisation. Members of this small group call each other *widag* or *idag*. Their relationship is basically egalitarian.

3) According to the times of initiation, there are many small groups in the age-group organisation. The time of joining the age-group organisation is the main criterion for allocating the status and authority for each group within it, i.e. the earlier a group joined the organisation the higher position it has. For example, in dancing, seating or distributing food among the age-group organisation, this hierarchical order is always important. In general, a younger group should obey the orders of an older group. In the past in the case of a violation of this rule, there were several kinds of punishments, including fines of cigarettes (*figkes*) and physical punishment (*maslati'*).

4) There are three main categories of groups (refer to Table 2-1) in this organisation: *pakarogay, kapah* and *mato'asay*. The *pakarogay* category has only one group; they are the youngest group in the organisation. There are six groups in the *kapah* category: the oldest group of *kapah* is called *mama no kapah*; it is the leader group of all the *kapah*, sometimes even the representative group for the whole age-group organisation. The second oldest group of *kapah* is *malakacaway*, and it is the assistant group to *mama no kapah*. There are 11 groups in the *mato'asay* category. Among them, the highest group was called *sakakay no mato'asay*, this group was in charge of certain village rituals, such as *misacpo'*.

5) Usually every three years, a new youth' group is initiated into the age-group organisation and becomes *pakarogay*. At this time each group already in the organisation will be promoted to a higher position. After the upgrading of each group, the previous oldest group (*sakakaay no mato'asay*) can be discharged from the organisation. They are called *kalas* and do not have any obligation to participate in the activities of the age-group organisation. The group conducting the duty of *mama no kapah* will become *mato'asay* and its role will be taken over by its next junior group.

The rituals which were associated with the age-group organisation will be examined below. Traditionally, the youngest group in the organisation was called *pakarogay.* However, before this group of youths achieved even this status they would have been familiar with the operation of the organisation for years because they would have gone regularly to the men's house and have done some menial tasks for the full members. This preparatory group was called *mi'afatay* and its members were aged 10-12. After they passed the initiation ritual, which usually took place every three years, they became *pakarogay.* Shortly before the initiation ritual was held, the leader group of the youth members *mama no kapah* (lit. young men's father) led the *mi'afatay* to the forest, and trained them in order to improve their skills in hunting and fishing, and to teach them the virtue of obeying the orders of older groups. After completing this training, they could participate in the initiation ritual, which took place in the middle of the *ilisin* ritual. At a certain stage of the *ilisin,* all the *mia'fatay* disappeared and hid somewhere around their own houses. Then the *mama no kapah* found them individually and took them back to the centre of the open ground near the men's house, where the village rituals such as *ilisin* were held. In full view of the audience, *mama no kapah* hit each *mi'afatay* on the hip several times with a stick and then gave him a *tapad* (special trousers for men) and *cohcoh* (bells to put around the waist), which had been prepared by his family beforehand. After the initiates dressed up, they joined the dancing in a particular site reserved for them. The usual Catholic interpretation of the initiation ritual is that the *pakarogay* are coming out from the world of their households and becoming a full member of age-group organisation. When a new group joined the age-group organisation, the former *pakarogay* was upgraded to a higher position. They would be given a proper name for their group. This name was decided by the elderly members and given by the village leader. This name-giving ritual is called *pagagan to kapot.* Normally, it took place immediately after the initiation of the new *pakarogay.* After the ritual, this group would dress slightly differently from the *pakarogay* and its members were now eligible to marry.

There are six groups of *kapah* in the age-group organisation. The *mama no kapah* is the leader group of all the *kapah*. Normally, the *mama no kapah* is aged 36-38. After a new group has joined the organisation, the *mama no kapah* are elevated to another category called *mato'asay*. If a group of *kapah* category lost any of its members through death, their group name was one of the possible reasons to blame for this. This group could practise a name-changing ritual on its own. Usually this should be held within one year of the member's death.

In the 1950s, the name-changing ritual for a particular age group was held in two stages. First, there was a meal after a fishing trip. The members of the group who wished to change their name divided the food equally among all the members, including a portion for the dead person. When they began to eat, their leader would say: Oh, friend so-and-so (the dead member's name), why are you here? Oh, sorry, these seats were for group so-and-so (their original group name). We are group so-and-so (their new group name which they had chosen beforehand).[31] Then he led the whole group with their food to another place and left the food which was reserved for the dead member at the first place. At the second stage of the name-changing ritual, they gathered *talod*, a grass with sharp leaves which was widely used in rituals to expel evil. They put this grass on the ground to mark the winning line for a short-distance race that was to be run. Before the race, all the members said: Come on! friend so-and-so (name of deceased), let us have a race. In the middle of running, they turned their heads back and shouted: Ha, you are the last one. When they reached the finish line and ran over the grass, they said: You, ghost, you can not get me any more. This ritual also shows that if a man died before he fulfilled the duties of a *mama no kapah* the group was seen as abnormal and therefore wanted to change their name.

As was said before, traditionally the major function of age-group organisation was to protect the territory of the village. In fact, before the arrival of the Japance other head-hunting aboriginal groups very often invaded the Ami villages. Therefore, one of

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31 Like a personal name, a group's name can "affect its bearer" (Bean, 1980:311). Therefore a name-changing ritual can be used to get rid of bad luck.

the functions of age-group organisation was to fight (*mamagayaw*) with their enemies (*'ala*). This task became less important after the Japanese government gained effective control of east Taiwan. The other functions of age-group organisation decreased in importance later.

In the past *mikacaw* was one of the major tasks of the age-group organisation and the literal meaning of *mikacaw* was to watch. In the past, each age group, in turn, would stay and keep watch in the men's house. The purpose of *mikacaw* was not only to prevent any potential damage to the village in some unexpected accident but also to receive messages from the government and broadcast them to all the villagers. The duties of the men's house ended when it was disbanded in 1952. In the past, there was a fire-place in the men's house, and many informants (including Asala) said that its regular use was the symbol of the continuity of the village, just like the use of the stove was a symbol of the continuity of the household. From this point of view, the traditional village did not exist after 1952.

The contribution of labour from the age-group organisation to the village as a whole was also important in the past. During the Japanese rule, the roads within and near the village and the public wells were built by the age-group organisation which also carried out other construction work. Even after the war, the Chinese government ordered the age-group organisation to do some work without payment. In the past, the age-group organisation also helped a household to set up a new house, if the household required help. These kinds of obligations for which the age-group organisation was responsible, called *matayal*, were abolished in the 1950s.

Another function of the age-group organisation was to perform various rituals for the village (*lisin no niyaro'*). Nowadays, most of these rituals, such as *misalifog, paka'orar, pakacidal, misacpo'* and *misatfon*, have been abandoned. However, the new year ceremony (*ilisin*) is still held every year. It is not only the one remaining village ceremony currently organised by the age-group organisation but it has also become a symbol of Ami cultural identity in their present situation. (This also will be discussed later.)

In addition to gender, which is an important factor in determining social roles, relative age is another factor of differentiation among the Ami. Ideally, a younger person should respect an older one, and the Ami call this principle *kasakakaka no 'orip*. There are three famous sayings related to this principle: Who saw the sun first? (*Cima ko 'ayaw a mica to cidal*?); Who tried the taste of salt first? (*Cima ko 'ayaw a mirina to cimah*?); Who stamped on the earth first? (*Cima ko 'ayaw a miripa to sota*?). They all imply that the older a person is the more experienced and superior they are.

Even now, in their daily life, the Ami normally allocate duties on the basis of a person's age, and relative age is more important than genealogical relation in many social situations.[32] The older one is the less work one is assigned. When distributing food, elders receive the better quality or greater amount. When allocating a place for rest, the most comfortable and safest place is reserved for the eldest. Asala and Lifok explain that all these arrangements are based on the *kasakakaka no 'orip*. The meaning of *'orip* is life or way of living and the word *kasakakaka* is derived from a kin term: *kaka*. The Ami use *kaka* to refer to one's elder sisters and brothers. On the other hand, elder siblings address their younger siblings as *safa* or sometimes by their personal names. However, it is not suitable for a *safa* to call his/her *kaka* by his/her personal name. In domestic life, a social norm is that *safa* should respect *kaka* and *kaka* should protect *safa*. As a result, in addition to sex, the relative age is an important factor in organising social life.

The *kasakakaka no 'orip* was important in the age-group organisation. In fact, some informants (such as Lifok and Asala) pointed out that the age-group organisation was the best example of this principle, and the criterion for deciding the hierarchical order among different groups was the time of their joining the age-group organisation. The junior groups called the senior groups *kaka a kapot* and the senior groups called the junior ones *safa a kapot*. If a group was higher than one's own by three or four

[32] They call an elder sister *ina* (mother) rather than *kaka* (elder sibling) if the addressee is older than the addresser about twenty years.

grades, it could be called *mama a kapot.* [33] As already mentioned, *kapah* and *mato'asay* are two main categories in the age-group organisation and *mato'asay* are superior. The original meaning of *mato'asay* is a person who is becoming an ancestor. In social life this term is used to refer to an old man or an old woman. According to the *kasakakaka no 'orip* principle, it is easy to understand that *mato'asay* should be respected by the *kapah.*

However, I think that it was difficult for social groupings within the age-group organisation to operate on the basis of relative age alone; indeed I would suggest that previous studies of the Ami age-group organisation have over-emphasised its formal structure, especially when they see it as an example of gerontocracy (e.g.Yuan,1969). For example, after a new group was formed, the oldest group yielded their higher position to the group immediately below them. Furthermore, if one examines how this organisation operates internally, one sees that the most prominent position is held by the *mama no kapah* in spite of the fact that this group is not the most senior group in the age-group organisation (cf. W. Chen,1989). It is important to consider the meaning of *mato'asay* and *kapah* in context.

The authority of *mama no kapah* made the age-group organisation suitable for fighting and other labour-consuming duties. However, every three years, a new group of men became *mama no kapah* and came to power. From the statements of the villagers it is clear that the performance of the whole age-group organisation was to some extent determined by the abilities and unity of the *mama no kapah.* More precisely, the performance of the age-group organisation and the fortune of the village were determined by the co-operation of *mama no kapah* and the village council.

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[33] Here the kin term *mama* (father) was applied in the age-group organisation.

2.8 *Masakapotay* (village council)

All my Catholic informants agree that in the past in order to unite different *gasaw* (clan) in the village, the village council played an important role in addition to age-group organisation.

In the initial period, when the Ami moved to Iwan from other villages, each clan governed itself, and later when they knew each other better, they decided to co-operate for self-defence and set up an independent village. Therefore they organised a village council (*masakapotay*).

Kalitag Payo was the pioneer who led his relatives to settle in Iwan. He was elected the first councillor (*kakitaan*) and the chairman of the *masakapotay*. Even now, villagers still regard him as father of the village (*mama no niyaro'*). Each clan could propose a *faki* as their representative in the *masakapotay*. According to Asala and Lifok, the traditional healers had also formed a group (*cfag*) at that time. The leader of the *cfag* was called *'aisdan*, a position that could only be occupied by a male, and he was also a *kakitaan* in the *masakapotay*. There was a temporary age-group organisation at that time. Several persons were chosen from the *mato'asay* and *kapah* in age-group organisation. The Cilagasan clan was the only clan in the village which could deal with the aftermath of the head-hunting. They organised the funeral rituals for people who died as a result of this practice. The *tatapagan* (original household) of Cilagasan could also send a representative to the *masakapotay*.

Around 1900, the influence of the Japanese government increased and the village ceased to be an independent political unit. In order to co-operate with the government and to communicate with the outside world, the *masakatotay* was forced to re-organise in a slightly different way. Personal abilities, such as language skills and knowledge about the outside world, became more important than other factors in choosing a village councillor. Only members of *mato'asay* grade in the age-group organisation were entitled to vote, or to be elected, as the village head. This meant that

after a man had completed his duty as *mama no kapah* he had the opportunity to be elected a village councillor. A man who was good at speaking, singing and dancing (*paploay*) was more likely to be elected. This principle has remained basically the same until the present day. Usually the age-group organisation chose two candidates. The man with most votes was called *kakitaan* (a term now used for the chairman of the village council) and the runner-up was called *safa kakitaan* (deputy chairman). Most of the other members of the village council were recommended by the age-group organisation and accepted (*mipili'*) by the *kakitaan.* In addition to this, the *kakitaan* could appoint two or three men as his personal advisers and they became full members of the village council as well.

Asala calls this village council *falohay a masakapotay* (new style *masakapotay*). The first new style *kakitaan* in Iwan was a man called Sawmah Payo. He was originally from a northern village called Makuta'ay. Because of his background, he knew a little Kaliyawan dialect[34] and a Taiwanese Chinese dialect. Furthermore, he knew the villages between Mokuta'ay and Iwan very well and had good relations with their leaders. He was seen by many villagers as the best man to communicate with the outside world.[35] Because of his *kakitaan* status, his family benefited a great deal and became the richest family in Iwan. The land on which the men's house was built and the Japanese temple were registered under his name, and his son had a much longer schooling than any other person in the village. His family was also the first to own a clock and a rice husking machine which they bought in 1940.

At that time the *safa kakitaan* was Diway Ariyot. According to the Japanese government records, he was the vice-village head of Iwan and was younger than Sawmah Payo by ten years. Most of the older villagers remember him as more active than the *kakitaan*, not only because he was good at speaking, singing and dancing, but also because of his impartiality. After he died, the villagers deified him as a guardian

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34 Kaliyawan was one of the ten sinicized aboriginal groups (see section 3 of Introduction).

35 It shows that leaders make claims on positions of autority through the articulation of cultural resources.

god of the village (*mitapalay no niyaro'*). Even now the age-group organisation commemorate him in the new year ceremony (*ilisin*).

Although the Japanese only recognised the chairman and the deputy chairman of the village council as leaders of a village (the posts were called *tomok* and *safa tomok* by the villagers), the villagers did not completely accept this arrangement. They insisted that without a *masakapotay* system the *tomok* was meaningless. Therefore no matter whether the government recognised it or not, the villagers struggled to maintain the existence of *masakatotay*. However, in order to reflect the new style *tomok* system, the *masakapotay* was called *daysag* or *rokos.*

In the mid 1920s, the influence of the Japanese government further increased and in order to better control the Ami, the government organised the population into three groups: children, youths and the middle aged[36]. The first two groups were organised by the local primary school, the last one by the local police station. The leader and vice-leader of these groups were all appointed by local policemen. The leader of the youth group was called *kayciw*, and the deputy leader *safa kayciw*. The leader of the middle aged group was called *tagciw* and its deputy leader *safa tagciw.*[37]

The first two leaders of the youth group were Lofog (*kayciw*), and Isan (*safa kayciw*); later however the Japanese governors treated them as leaders of the whole village. The villagers accepted this arrangement very reluctantly and only under pressure from the government. A consequence of this was that the office of the highest village leader became known as *kayciw* instead of *tomok.*

Once Lofog was in power with his young brother Isan as the *safa kayciw*, he reorganised the village council. The first man he invited to join the new council was Diway Ariyo, who used to be the *safa kakitaan* of the previous village council and was still popular among the villagers. Then the *tagciw* and *safa tagciw* of the middle aged group were invited to join the council too, along with various other people. Two years

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36 Each group had to meet regularly by order of the Japanese. During the meetings, 'modern knowledge' and military training were given by the Japanese.

37 The words *kayciw* and *tagciw* were both borrowed from Japanese.

later, the Japanese chose Copay and Kacaw Kowat as the *kayciw* and *safa kayciw* of the youth group and as the leaders of the village as well. Copay reorganised the village council as Lofog had done before him.

After the war, the village council faced an even more radical change. Firstly, the Chinese government reorganised the administration system and Iwan was incorporated with Tomi'ac, the next Ami village to the south, as one political unit, called Boai Li (li, means village in Chinese). Since then, Iwan has ceased to form an independent political unit. Each li is divided into several neighbourhoods (lin). At the initial stage, there were five neighbourhoods in Iwan, but later the number increased to eight.

In the new system the citizens could now vote for the leaders of the different political units in local elections. The leader of the li became known as *liciw* in Ami, and the leader of each lin is called *linciw*. In the first election after this change, the *liciw* of Boai Li was Copay, the former village leader of Iwan. The villagers of Iwan found no difficulty in calling him *liciw* instead of *kayciw*. In addition to this, Copay was the chairman of the village council, of which all the newly elected *linciw* were members.

When Copay lost power after the second local election in 1949, a young Ami from Iwan, called Asala, was elected as the *liciw* of Boai Li. Asala sensed that one day the *liciw* position might be held by a person from Tomi'ac, or even by a Chinese. Therefore Asala called for a village meeting to discuss the future of the village council. At the meeting many agreements were reached. The *liciw* is responsible for duties assigned by the government. The chairman of the village council is now called *komog* (the original meaning in Japanese is adviser). He should be a resident of Iwan and be mainly responsible for local issues, such as disputes between households and the like. Following the new system, Copay was elected as the first *komog* of Iwan. *Liciw* and *linciw* all became members of this village council and the *liciw* became the *komog*'s principal assistant. Basically, this system is still in operation now.

For the Ami in Iwan, the village council is usually seen as one of the symbols of the continuity of the village. Despite the fact that in different historical periods

different governments and different policies have been in existence, the concept of the village council has always remained alive. However, in order to keep in line with the changing political situation, the name of the village council and the functions of the village council have changed many times.

According to the villagers, the basic obligation of each member of the village council is *macdeg*. *Macdeg* means either to call up or to participate in a meeting and the word applies to meetings organised for the preparation of village rituals, such as *misalifog*, *ilisin* or *paka'orar*, as well as to meetings to settle disputes among the villagers or to receive officers from the government or visitors from other villages.

Each household was obliged to provide food for the village councillors and their guests during their *macdeg*. This obligation was called *pasadak no loma'*, and it took two forms: *mitaigan* and *milatagan*. The councillors took food from each household in turn. The food collected in this way should be used strictly for the *macdeg* and it was a taboo for councillors to take the food home. Should any household not comply with this obligation, the councillor could order the age-group organisation to take the food from it by force.

Prior to 1930, the *mitaigan* consisted only of a young calf (*tofor*). Around 1930, however, the government collected all the cows from the villagers to supply beef for the Japanese army and the village councillors had to use a pig (*fafog*) instead. After the war, some villagers complained that they could not afford to provide a pig for the councillors' meeting and the council decided to substitute a chicken (*'ayam*) for the pig. Some villagers still complained that it was not fair because they paid tax both to the government and to the councillors and the councillors decided to stop the collection of *mitaigan* altogether. At the same time, the collection of *milatagan*, such as *'pah* (wine), *rara'* (different kinds of beans) and *flac* (rice) was also stopped. However, the council insisted that the collection of wine from each household should not be abandoned completely. In fact since the 1930s, the wine received by the councillors had been bought by the villagers from local shops rather than being made by the villagers themseves from their own millet or rice. However, the councillors claimed

that rice wine was the symbol of the unifying blood (*rmes*) of all the people in Iwan. Even now, on the last day of the new year ceremony (*ilisin*), there is a closing ceremony called *pipihayan.* In this ceremony, the head of each household in Iwan should bring one or two bottles of rice wine to the councillor, who is in charge of this matter for the whole council.

Generally speaking, the functions of the village council decreased when the Japanese took control of Taiwan. In the past, when the village was a fully independent political unit, the village council could pass a law (*rikec*) and ask all the villagers to obey it. When there were disputes among the villagers, the councillors would decide punishment and compensation. For example, in a case of theft (*mitakaway*), manslaughter (*mipatay*), or the destruction of another's property (*mikanagay*), the council would pass judgement. Even now, the councillors sort out troubles for the villagers, although for most of the time they deal with such matters according to the government's law rather than to the Ami's traditional custom. The village council's functions of organising social meetings with other villages (*sakilafag*) and of communicating with the government are still important.

Nowadays, many Ami villages no longer have an age-group organisation but still have a village council. One reason for this may be that with the migration of the youth to urban areas has made it increasingly difficult for the people who still live in the village to keep the age-group organisation working. Another possible reason is that the village council has become progressively more important in expressing village identity.

Before the arrival of the Chinese and Japanese, the village was not only an economic and political unit but also an endogamous group. The village council took responsibility for most of the village matters and, as Suenari (1983) points out, the authority of *mama no kapah* was legitimised by the village council. More importantly, the village was a religious unit, in the Ami's worship of supernatural beings in order to ensure a prosperous life. However, only the chairman of the village council could worship the most important god *Malataw*[38], and therefore, he, in representing the

[38] It was a taboo for a *faki* to worship *Malataw* in a household rite.

village council on behalf of the village in worshipping *Malataw*, exemplified the village as an independent worshipping community.

The fact that the village council expresses the identity of the village is suggested also by the use of the word *tapag*. The original meaning of *tapag* is trunk or stem of a tree, and the Ami use many derivatives of this word, such as *tatapagan* (one's origins, one's natal family, root family), and *palatapag* (a ceremony in which a person who marries into the village chooses a household as his/her *tatapagan*) and the like. The village councillors are called *tapag no niyaro'* ——the trunk of the village. This suggests that they are seen as the trunk which unites all the villagers in a way similar to that in which the *ina* (mother or mothers) unites all the members of a household. The village council thus has a better chance than the age-group organisation to express the village's identity in the situation of radical socio-cultural change.

Chapter 3

Economic life and calendric rites

Taiwanese aboriginal groups have been classified into two main types according to their pre-Christian religious beliefs. The first group, such as the Atayal and the Bunon, had a simple belief system, in which soul and spirit were the fundamental concepts; the second group which includes the Ami had a more complex belief system, which not only included the concepts of soul and spirit but also that of gods (Furuno, 1945; Y. Huang,1986).

Study of the pre-Christian Ami concept of *kawas* (see section 1.2), shows these people had a concept of god, and that their belief system belonged to the more complex type. However, when one speaks of the Ami's pre-Christian concept of all living things, the idea of spirit and soul were more relevant, even though the concept of god was very important in their society.

According to Lifok, the Ami divided living things into animals (*ma'oripay*) and plants (*molgaway*). They further divided non-human animals into four categories: *manafoyay* (quadrupeds), *no 'ayaman* (birds), *no nanom* (all living creatures in the water) and *no faoan* (all kinds of insects). But as the Ami were most concerned with their food, their division of living things into edible and inedible was a more important classification with regard to their livelihood.

From a secular viewpoint, one major reason for the Ami not eating a certain living thing, no matter whether it was a plant or an animal, was that it was thought to be poisonous. But from a sacred viewpoint this kind of prohibition could be explained by the concept of *kawas*. If something was considered inedible, no matter whether it was

poisonous or not, it usually was thought to have a powerful spirit so that no human being dared to touch it. For the edible living things, there were two criteria that allowed human beings to eat them. Some living things, such as vegetables grown by a man near his house, or animals raised inside the settlement site, could be eaten without any special treatment as they had very weak spirits, which could be overcome by human souls easily. However some important daily necessities, millet in particular, had strong spirits and man had to keep a good relationship with them through a series of rituals in order to eat them safely. This was why calendric rituals were held regularly by the Ami throughout the growing season.

In this chapter a study of the Ami's economic life before their conversion will be presented in the first three sections. In the last two sections the relationships between calendric rites and economic life in Iwan will be discussed.

3.1 Village land

Traditionally, each Ami village had its own territory. In principle, all the land inside the boundary of a village belonged to the villagers as a whole. Residence in the village gave a person the right to farm its land and use its resources. The classification and the usage of the land inside the village boundary were decided by its inhabitants. In Iwan village, according to Asala, the Ami divided their land into two main categories: land within the settlement site (*paniyaro'an*) and land outside the settlement site (*ca paniyaro'an*). Each main category had its sub-categories.

The Ami called the resources which belonged to the village as a whole *no kapologan*, meaning belonging to everybody (*polog*). Traditionally, *sfi* (men's house) was the only building belonging to the village as a whole, and it was located in the geographical centre of the village. It was not only the administrative centre of the village but also a dormitory for single men. The open ground in front of the *sfi* was the place where most of the village rituals, such as the new year ritual *ilisin*, took place.

When the Japanese came, they built several public lavatories, three wells, a public rubbish dump and a common graveyard inside the settlement. According to Asala's classification all these facilities were in the belonging to everybody (*no kapologan*) category. Potentially, each new household had the right to build their house on the unused land inside the settlement site.

All the land outside the settlement site belonged to the village as a whole. Bush (*smosmotan*) and forest (*kilakilagan*) were the most important. The Ami used this land for hunting, gathering and collecting the material they needed. In addition to this, they converted the forest or bush into land for planting. In this model, the household was "the central institution of the economy" (Gudeman, 1986:2) but it was not a "profit center" (*ibid.*:12).

Table 3-1 Land categories of the Ami

geographical location	Ami name	function
land within settlement site	*sfian*	land for building the men's house (*sfi*).
	paloma'an	land for each household to build heir house (*loma'*) on.
land outside settlement site	*pahafayan*	land for planting millet (*hafay*).
	saomah	land for growing agricultural products other than millet, such as green beans, sweet potato, tobacco, etc.
	kilakilagan	forest for collecting material for building, for fuel and also food items.
	smosmotan	bush mainly for gathering food items.
	pi'adopan	area for hunting animals. It was roughly the same as forest plus bush.
	lalo'aloan	brooks for bathing, drinking and fishing.
	riyarriyaran	sea for fishing and gathering.

3.2 Ownership

In the past there were two major ways to decide rights of ownership. The first one was called *pay'ayawan.* There is no direct translation or equivalent in English, but in general *pay'ayawan* means to possess something based on a finders keepers principle. The second one was called *misakilacan*, which entailed distribution of things among people according to their social status.

As the wild animals, fish and plants belonged to everybody in the village then anyone had the right to take them home on the basis of a finders keepers principle. However, according to Dafak, there were two special rules to decide the ownership of a wild animal injured in hunting. The first one was that if hunter A had injured but not killed an animal before it ran away; then hunter B caught it, he should share it equally with A. Another case was that if hunter A injured an animal but could not find it that same day anybody who found the animal next day could claim it as his own according to the *pay'ayawan* custom. In other words, hunter A had lost entirely his ownership of this animal once he had returned home empty handed.

Sometimes when the material objects were too big (e.g. trees) or there were too many (e.g. thatch) to take home easily, they used a *misalimawan* custom to express their temporary ownership. In Ami language, *limaw* means free time or leisure time and the meaning of *misalimawan* was someone will take this in due course. It was a variation of *pay'ayawan.*

The Ami usually claimed *misalimawan* to show their ownership of trees. In the past, the Ami used trees to build a house, to make furniture and to make tools for agriculture. If someone wanted a tree, he could use his knife to cut the stem of the tree two or three times; alternatively he could cut off some twigs of the tree. This action was called *mitapa*, meaning to cut with a knife. This way of showing ownership was called *mitapa'an* and the claim lasted for half a year. However if somebody cut down a tree, he could leave it in the forest and no other person could take it.

The Ami also used *misalimawan* to show their fishing rights in the brooks near the village. Either they would pile up two or three stones together (*mitarig*), or they could insert a plant (*porog*) in the brook (this was called *paporog*) to show their ownership of fishing rights over a certain section of the brook. This kind of ownership lasted only ten days. If someone violated this ownership within this period, then the owner could take all the fish caught by the violator.

The land used to build a house was acquired by a household in a *miaro'an* custom. Here *aro'* means a dwelling place or a place to stay. This custom was also based on a finders keepers principle. Once a household chose a piece of land, they could perform a *misasra* ritual (see section 2.1), after which this land belonged to them. However, in order to avoid disputes, they built their house as soon as possible. Once a household moved out of their house, they lost ownership of that land. They also applied *miaro'an* custom to claim other land. For example, the vegetable garden and the land to build a pig-sty were all acquired in this way.

Another way for people to gain ownership of material objects was called *misakilacan.* The meaning of *kilac* is part of the whole of something, and *misakilacan* means way of distributing a portion to each one among a group of people. Here, the social relations within a group were more emphasised than in *pay'ayawan.* There were three basic *misakilacan* situations.

One of the uses of the *misakilacan* was in dealing with wild animals (*nopalaan*) and there were four customs:

1) *kakakilacan*: The term denotes the way to distribute the parts of a wild animal among a hunting team. The head and skin of the animal were given to the hunter who first injured it. If a trap was used to catch the animal then this portion was given to the owner of the trap. The meat was then divided among all the hunters equally. A hunting dog was counted as half a hunter and its portion of meat belonged to its owner.

2) *miwada'an*: The hunter should give a small piece of meat to the first person whom he met after a wild animal was killed, irrespective of whether a man or a woman, a child or an old person.

3) *pafatis*: Traditionally a man lived in his wife's house after their marriage. When he caught a wild animal, his wife's household should give some meat to his natal family. There was not any restriction on the amount of the meat given.

4) *pagirawan*: Normally, when a deer, an antelope or a wild hog was taken home, there would be a celebration. The elderly relatives, such as heads of other households and elderly *faki* (mother's brothers) were invited to dinner (*malafi*). The people who came for this dinner were called *pagirawan*, meaning a guest invited for a feast. In this feast, the cooked meat was distributed according to age: the older one was the more meat one received. Each guest could bring home the meat which was distributed to him and share it with his family.

Another way of distributing food was called *nipacokan*. The meaning of *pacok* is to slaughter or to kill with a knife or sword (Fey ed.,1986) and *nipacokan* was mainly concerned with domestic animals, such as pigs or water buffaloes.

Even nowadays at a kinship assembly, usually at a wedding or other ritual, the household concerned provides a pig (or rarely a water buffalo) for sharing among the relatives. According to the customs, the animal is slaughtered by the middle aged mother's brothers (*mamirikec faki*, see section 2.3) who distributes the meat in the following ways: The head (*fagal*) of the domestic animal is left uncooked and according to Dafak, this is a gesture to thank the host household for raising it. After the meat is cooked, three parts from around the tail (*wikol*) are allocated to three senior mother's brothers (*tada faki*, see section 2.3) and the tail is reserved for the eldest *faki*. This custom is called *misawikol*. The rest of the meat is shared among all the relatives at the dinner. Everyone has a portion although the amount and quality of the meat distributed is determined on the basis of relative age. Except for certain senior *faki*, meat is only distributed to the relatives who attend the dinner. The portion of meat each one has is called *trog* and any remaining uneaten can be taken home by the guest. As A. Strathern (1973) has demonstrated, the distribution of meat among relatives and its shared consumption serves as an important symbol of clan solidarity and identity.

In a feast of the age-group organisation, food (meat particularly) is distributed to each group according to a principle of seniority. Traditionally, it was necessary to eat up all the meat, and it was taboo to take meat home, as there was a kind of female sickness (*ma'itikiray*) that was believed to be caused by this violation.[1] In the past, the village council had the right to collect a cow or pig and share it among the councillors during their meetings. This meat was shared by all the councillors equally; however, the chairman would have a double portion while other councillors had only one. The custom was that this meat should not be shared with their family. The *cikawasay* (traditional healers) also had their rules for distributing food. After performing a ritual for a household, they would usually receive some meat as their reward. The meat was distributed among them according to how long they had been practising; and normally the leader of the group (*'aisdan*) could have twice as much as the most junior *cikawasay*. All the meat, whether raw or cooked, could be taken home and shared with their family.

The last and most important custom in the *misakilacan* category was to distribute the land for planting millet (*hafay*). The land to grow millet was called *pahafayan* and it was controlled and distributed by the village council and protected from thieves and wild animals by the male age-group organisation. Practising slash-and-burn agriculture, with at most two or three years on the same plot, the whole village chose another place for planting millet. Informants say that each household received land in proportion to the number of its members. Each household would use some visible physical sign (*gagan*[2]) to distinguish their land from other households.

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1 Gregory (1982:79) says that: "While the sharing of food symbolises togetherness, taboos on eating food symbolise separateness." This food taboo serves to rank initiated men in a higher position than other villagers through their memberships of the age-group organisation.

2 Another meaning of *gagan* is personal name.

3.3 Resources

Traditionally, the Ami used a word *nitatoyan* to express their concept of property. The meaning of *tatoy* is to hold and the meaning of *nitatoyan* is possessions.

There were two kinds of *nitatoyan*: moveables (*safalonan*) and immoveables (*mitadoan*). Moveable property can be further divided into two sub-categories: personal belongings (*dafog no tked*) and household belongings (*dafog no loma'*). Immovable property could be further divided into two sub-categories as well: household belongings (*dafog no loma'*) and village belongings (*kapologan*).

Everyone, no matter what sex or age, had their own clothes (*ca'dog*). In consequence, among personal belongings, clothes were the most common, but they were socially and symbolically the least important.

Only an adult could have an *'alofo*, which was a kind of bag carried on one's back. It was used in the past to carry tobacco, matches and betel quids. Acording to Asala and Dafak, the Ami believed that there was a soul (*sahaklog*) lodged in it and this soul would protect the owner. Even now, although most Ami do not carry bags in daily life, all the adults use them when participating in the new year ceremony (*ilisin*).

Only male adults had a *fonos* (a machete-like knife) which was carried everywhere when hunting, fishing, gathering and patrolling. To some extent, the knife is a symbol of a man in Ami society. For example, if a pregnant woman dreams about picking up a *fonos* in the field, according to Maro' and other female informants, she is going to have a boy. At a wedding in the past, Dafak said, a *fonos* was the most important item which should go with the groom to the bride's house.

Similarly as men were associated with the knife, adult women exclusively owned certain items related to their adornment, such as necklaces (*cagaw*), earrings (*fitig*) and bracelets (*kadeg*) etc.

All the aforementioned personal belongings could be passed to other family members. However, it was a taboo to lend or to give these things to a person who was

not a relative. When a person died, all their personal belongings should be buried with them. Some people are still hesitant to use things previously owned by a dead person.

The household (*loma'*) was an important social group which owned property collectively. The land used by each household to grow millet was allocated by the village council. Under the system of slash-and-burn agriculture, it was pointless for a household to claim ownership over a piece of land after they had exhausted it. The land on which a household built its house (*paloma'an*) and the land for growing vegetables (*saciketan*), yams (*satalian*), sweet potatoes (*sakoga'an*), and tobacco (*satamakoan*) was used on the basis of a finders keepers (*pay'ayawan*) principle. Once a household moved out of their house or stopped growing plants on the land, it lost ownership of that land.

The house was the most important immoveable property of a household. It included the house proper (*loma'*), a kitchen (*kofaw*), a barn (*ariri*), a chicken coop (*talalokan*) and a pig-sty (*tafafoyan*), all inside the settlement site, and sometimes a temporary shelter for use of workers in the fields (*talo'an*). Once a household moved away from the village, they lost ownership of their immoveable property. According to customary law (*kananaman*), other villagers could take over this property freely.

Animals, such as hunting dogs (*waco*), pigs (*fafoy*) and chickens (*'ayam*), and the plants, such as millet (*hafay*), sweet potatoes (*koga*) and areca palms (*'icep*), which were raised by or grown on the land used by a household, belonged to that household. Each household had their particular marks to show their ownership. In the past, the most common crime was theft (*mitakaw*) of this kind of property, eventhough one of the most important social norms was *aka pitakaw* (do not steal), and each household would use a certain kind of ritual magic (*lati'*) to protect its property. Very often, an acute pain in the abdomen would be diagnosed as evidence of having been caught by another household's magic power (*malati'ay*).

Inside the house, there were five types of moveable property: 1) Sleeping utilities (*sakalafi'*): *sikal* (a sleeping mat made of grass or thin bamboo strips) and *oray* (a light-weight blanket). 2) Cooking utensils (*sakatayal no kofaw*): *kafoay* (an earthen

vessel used for cooking rice or soup), *mahod* (a wooden rice cooker used for steaming) and *tipid* (a large serving bowl made from wood) etc. 3) Agricultural implements (*sakatayal a lalosidan*): *pitaw* (a hoe), *lklal* (a kind of small hoe) and *kawkaw* (a long-bladed knife with a curved handle) etc. 4) Processing implements (*lalosidan no loma'*): *parpar* (a flail to beat out grain or beans from their husks or shells), *tifkan* (a wooden mortar) and *'asolo* (a wooden or stone pestle) used to grind millet or rice, *dodag* (a tray or trough for husked rice or millet) and *fakar* (a large round multi-purpose basket). 5) Special items included the following: hunting weapons (such as an arrow and a spear), fishing implements (such as fishing nets), weaver's loom, equipment to make wine, ritual objects, special clothes for the new year ritual and other precious things.

Two Catholic informants said that when their ancestors moved from other villages to Iwan they brought objects in the aforementioned four categories with them because these items were needed in everyday life. Among them, a mortar and pestle were symbolically the most important. One of the two informants, Asala, explained to me that a mortar stood for female family members while a pestle stood for the male family members. He also said that there were *kawas* (supernatural beings) lodged in the mortar and pestle which protected the whole family. Therefore, when a household moved to another place, these two things went with them as a matter of priority.

The relationships among Ami households in a village were egalitarian. A crucial factor, however, that enabled a household to become rich was the size of its labour force. The Ami did not use the possession of objects as a critera for determining poor or rich households, rather the number of the household members was emphasised; thus a household was called rich (*cika'nay a loma'*) if a great number of members lived in it; on the other hand, a poor household (*pakayoc a loma'*) was thought of as poor mainly because it had fewer members.[3] The literal meaning of *cika'nay* is people who

[3] The original meaning of *pakayoc* was orphan. It implied that a man without help from parents, siblings or other relatives was most unfortunate.

have things for eating.[4] The size of the labour force was the most important factor in obtaining the food items needed.

Asala explained to me that when the ancestors of villagers came from other villages and settled down in Iwan, they depended for their living on hunting, fishing and gathering. Therefore, the more people in a household, the more likely it was that they could have a better life. After the village was established and villagers started to grow millet, the more members a household had, the more land it could cultivate. A big household with many members and relatives also had a better chance to play a decisive role in the age-group organisation and the village council. Therefore, each household tried to increase its members and thus enjoy a prosperous and prestigious life. A decrease of members was seen as the sign of decline (*mapleg*) of a household.

3.4 Millet and pre-Christian calendric rites

Almost all old people in Iwan agreed that, when they were children, there were many rituals (*lisin*) and taboos (*paysin*) closely associated with millet. In fact, before the 1930s, all their calendric rites were arranged on the basis of the growing season of millet. At that time, there were two major kinds of millet: *forayan* and *coway*. *Forayan* was used in daily meals whereas *coway* was only used in a feast or on other special occasions.

The ritual cycle began with the slash-and-burn season (*kasawmahan*), which was about September and October in the Western solar calendar. Then, in November or December, came the planting season which was rich in ritual. The leader of the village announced two or three days in advance the date at which the season was to begin. Each household then had to eat up all the food which had been obtained from water, especially the fish. Even dried or salted fish could not be left. All the plates,

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[4] However in a subsistence economy "household surpluses have little value in exchange, since others also are producing for consumption" (Gudeman, 1978:59).

bowls, and any place for storing the fish had to be cleaned rigorously. If a household could not consume all of this food, they could give it to other households or simply throw it away. This period of time was called *matgedaw* (preparation).[5]

In the sowing season, the major task was to plant the millet seed in the un-irrigated farm-land. During this period, it was a taboo to eat anything obtained from water. A female member assigned by the head of the household acted as *cilisinay* (a person in charge of the ritual) in the planting ritual, while other members were her assistants. First, the *cilisinay* prayed: Quick, quick, you millet, I hope you grow as quickly as grass on the field, as much as the sand near the sea, as plentiful as the small bells on our dress. Then all the members of the household planted the seeds in silence.

If the harvest of last year was not as good as expected, people might choose another *cilisinay* for this year. If many such changes were made year after year, a household might choose a female baby as the *cilisinay*. In this case, an adult might hold the baby and pray on her behalf. However, in no case, could a male member be chosen for this task. This arrangement originated from the close relation between women and millet in Ami cosmology. The sowing could take from half a day to three days. Each household had to have a *paklag* ritual after they had finished their sowing and after the *paklag* ritual all the taboos were lifted. If the seeds were washed away by a heavy rain or they just did not germinate after a week, a second sowing (*mikrog*) could be done. No particular ritual was performed for this work.

January and February of the Western solar calendar was the time for weeding (*pikolasan*) and there were two rituals during this period. If there was a child aged around five in a household, they might have a *pakayapan* (or *pakatalipan*) ceremony.

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5 This food taboo to some extent sounds similar to the Eskimo. According to Mauss (1979:61): "When summer has began, an Eskimo may not eat Caribou (a summer animal) until he has put away all his winter clothes and put on new ones, or at the very least, until he has put on clothes that were not used during the walrus-hunting season." For the Eskimo, the fundamental classes are "winter things" and "summer things", and "to mix them in any way is forbidden" (*ibid.*:61). However, for the Ami, the taboo derives from their belief that the millet does not like water at all (see section 2.1 about the discussion of barn and kitchen).

In this ritual a boy was dressed with a *kayap* (a dress for a man), a girl with a *talip* (a dress for a woman). This was the first time a young child would wear formal dress. In addition to this, the young groups in the age-group organisation (*kapah*, refer to Table 2-1) had to perform a dancing ceremony. The songs and the dances were the same as in the new year ritual *ilisin*. This ceremony was to celebrate the fact that the millet was growing up now and a good harvest was expected. After these two rituals, each household could begin to weed their own field. From March to June, if there was anything wrong with the millet, several rituals could be done to deal with it. These rituals will be discussed in the next chapter.

Usually, the harvest (*kahafayan*) took place in July, and it was prefaced by a short period of preparation (*mikloc*). The main task in this period was exactly the same as in *matgedaw*, that was all food obtained from water had to be eaten or given away. All the containers and places used for fish had to be cleaned carefully. Then on the date announced by the head of the village, each household went to the fields to collect the harvest.

The Ami believed that millet had a powerful *kawas*. It even had ears and eyes.[6] Therefore, during the harvest, everybody had to keep silent and avoid behaving anti-socially. Otherwise the millet would go away or cause sickness or misfortune to the household. If communication was necessary during the harvest, a particular vocabulary and ways of expression were used instead of the daily language. Both men and women could join the work of harvesting. After the harvest, each household held a *paklag* ritual.

After transporting the millet from the field to the village, each household would dry their millet on the open ground in front of their house. Then an important ritual called *minaag ariri* was performed by each household. In pre-Christian Ami society,

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6 To some extent, millet for the Ami is like rice for the Iban. According to Gudeman (1986:143) in Iban: "Rice is the most important of vegetable souls, having human responses and emotions... Like humans, rice is said to have an independent power to increase in quantity, even when it is stored in bins after harvesting." Most importantly, "the Iban avoid hurting the rice and offending its spirits who may flee" (*ibid.*:143-4).

the size of the barn (*ariri*) was the best indicator of the wealth of a household. It was hence a serious matter to choose a suitable woman to be in charge of the household's barn (*ciaririay*). Before moving the newly harvested millet into the barn, all the previous season's millet had to be taken out temporarily, and the inside of the barn had to be cleaned carefully. Then came the *minaag ariri.* In this ritual, the *ciaririay*, facing the door of barn with a bundle of millet at her hand, prayed like this: Come here, you millet. I hope you fill all the barn. I hope you are as plentiful as sand. I hope we can use you without shortage. Then she threw the bundle into the barn. After this, all the household members moved the rest of the millet into the barn.

Only then could millet be taken out again and used by the household. The first occasion on which millet was taken out from the barn was called *midafo'*, and according to the custom, only the *ciaririay* could do this task. Before the millet was cooked for a meal, there was a lot of work to be done, such as pounding the millet and removing the husks; this kind of work was called *migasif* and only women could do it. After the husks of the millet were removed, the millet was called *flac.* It was put in a special container called *tiflacan.* It was a taboo for a man to touch this container and doing this might bring him or his family sickness. All these customs show that agriculture was primarily under the control of women.

During July and August, after the harvest and before the slash-and-burn season for the next crops, an *ilisin* ritual, the most important of the year, was held. It was a village ritual and was organised by the age-group organisation. Many informants, such as Asala and Maro', insisted that it was a new year ritual. Nevertheless some of them admitted that it was harvest thanks-giving ritual as well. Today in the village and in other Ami areas, *ilisin* is the only traditional Ami ritual which is still performed every year, even though its meaning has changed.

The length of *ilisin* varied each year. In the past, it was held for at least three days, sometimes as long as seven days and it is said that, a long time ago, it would be celebrated for more than twenty days. However, no matter how long this ritual took in the past, its structure always remained the same (refer to Table 3-2).

Table 3-2 The structure of the *ilisin* ritual

ceremony	main activities
1. *piwarakan*	fishing activity by the age group organisation
2. *malitapod/ifolod*	welcome to and worship of the *kawaskawas*
3. *kailisin*	entertain the *kawaskawas*
4. *pipihayan*	bid farewell to the *kawaskawas*
5. *paklag*	closing ceremony

The *piwarakan* was practised by the age-group organisation in Iwan Brook. Members of the age-group organisation used *warak* (roots of a kind of plant) to paralyse and catch the fish, crabs and prawns. Then they cooked and ate their catches at the river-bank. After this no-one was allowed to eat any food from the water and the whole village had to stop any serious work during the rest of the ritual period. In other words, no one could go to the fields for agricultural work during the *ilisin* period.

Next, *malitapod* and *ifolod* were performed by *mato'asay* and *kapah* of the age-group organisation respectively. The major activities in these two rituals were singing and dancing. Some informants, such as Lifok and Asala, reported that, in the past, these two rituals were held separately on two consecutive nights. However, under pressure from the Japanese government, they were combined and held on the same night.

Piwarakan, malitapod and *ifolod* were men's activities, and women were not allowed to join them. Sometimes during these the age-group organisation activities, its members had meals together. The principle governing the division of the food was that the more senior one's group, the better the quality of the food one would receive (see section 3.2). If a man could not eat all the food he had been allocated, he could pass it on to his lower group. Consequently, the lowest group, *pakarogay*, usually had to eat all the food passed down from the higher groups, in addition to their own allocation, which was normally of the worst quality. Even now, it is prohibited for the members of the age-group organisation to take their food to their house. In the past, it was

thought that if a woman developed a certain kind of disease, it was because she had eaten the food of the age-group organisation.[7]

After these rituals, the *ilisin* entered another phase called *kailisin.* Now all the villagers could join the singing and dancing, the age-group organisation being the organiser of all these activities. For most of the time, the *mato'asay* sat in the inner circle, according to their grade, in a clockwise direction. At the same time, the *kapah* led by the *mama no kapah*, formed another team, according to their grade, and they sang and danced, all the time surrounding the *mato'asay.* If a group of *mato'asay* decided to join the *kapah*, they became the leading group and all their lower groups had to join them and could not sit in the inner circle. The women and children sat or stood randomly in the corners of the open ground. They were not allowed to enter the inner circle formed by the *mato'asy.* If a woman wished to join the dancing, she had to enter beside her husband or brother or at the end of the team. The children also had to be at the end of the team if they joined in.

The length of *kailisin* was very flexible. It could last one day, or the same programme could be repeated for several days. Compared with *malitapod* and *ifolod*, which were held in the evening till midnight, the *kailisin* started around two or three o'clock in the afternoon and ended at dusk, normally around seven o'clock. On the last day of *kailisin*, there was a special programme called *pialaan to Dipog* (lit. inviting the Japanese). Asala said that this programme began at the beginning of the Japanese occupation. That day, policemen, school teachers and local officials were invited to a banquet, which was served in the centre of the inner circle, while the singing and dancing were held around them. Nowadays, this programme is still practised every year, but most people (e.g. Maro' and Dafak) call it *piliafagan*, meaning treating friends (*lafag* or *afag*).

The last day of *ilisin* was a ritual called *pipihayan.* The major activities were singing and dancing, although the melody and dance patterns were not exactly the same as on the previous programme. The people who participated in this ritual were the

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[7] See section 2.7 for more information.

leader of the village, *cikawasay* (traditional healers), and heads of each household. The same day, the age-group organisation had a *paklag* ritual. The members of the *kapah* fished, gathered and then all the organisation had supper together. After this, all social life reverted back to normal, and all the prohibitions, such as not being able to go to the field to work, were lifted.

In addition to these rituals concerning the millet, there were some rituals dealing with animals. Hunting has never been as important as agriculture and fishing for the people of Iwan. Furthermore, in about 1910, the Japanese government confiscated guns and gunpowder, which the Ami had previously obtained by barter from Chinese merchants. Thus the importance of hunting decreased even further. Asala said that, a long time ago, every year there was a collective hunt led by the *mama no kapah* a few days before the *ilisin* ritual. However, it was no longer practised after the middle of the 1910s. Therefore, for most of the Ami, excluding the rituals regarding millet, the two other most important calendric rites were *miwarak* and *misacpo'* which both dealt with fishing.

Miwarak was a ritual to worship the river god, who according to a folk story, was a male called *Idek. Warak* is a word for the root of a certain kind of plant which can be used to paralyse the animals in the water and the literal meaning of *miwarak* is to use *warak* for fishing. This ritual was held every year in the middle or at the end of May. The age-group organisation caught the fish in Iwan Brook and divided them equally among each household in the village. The ritual ceased to be performed in the early 1950s.

Misacpo' was a ritual to worship the ocean god. It normally took place in early or mid June at the seaside at the mouth of the Iwan Brook. After the *mama no kapah* decided on the date for this ritual, the *pakarogay* announced it loudly in the settlement. Then next night, every young man fished in different ways according to his ability and interest. Some might fish in the sea, some in the river. The next day, they brought their catch to the meeting place (*pisacpo'an*). While some groups continued fishing, some young men had to set up a sun-shelter for the *mato'asay*, who would come later

that morning. The lunch was mainly based on the fish and rice cake[8]. Before the lunch, some members of the highest age group took a piece of the rice cake and a small fish and went down to the sea. Then they squatted and prayed individually: Oh, Ocean god, please make the sea as flat as a carpet or a wooden plate. Then the fishermen can fish easily and safely. Oh, Ocean god, please control the ocean carefully all the time, don't make a big wave to scare the fishermen. Please protect the fishermen all the time, give them good catches every time. Oh, Ocean god, please accept my offerings. Enjoy them now. After this they shouted oh and stood up. Then they stamped on the earth and threw the fish and rice cake into the sea. When they came back to the meeting place, the lunch began. After the Ami's conversion into Christianity, performances of this ritual stopped due to the intervention of the Christian churches in the middle of the 1960s.

3.5 Rice and calendric rites

When the Ami used millet as their staple food, they also grew a kind of rice (called *tipos*) on their rain-fed farm-land. Through their contacts with the Chinese and some sinicized Taiwanese aborigines (called Kaliwan), the Ami on the eastern coast of Taiwan heard about paddy rice agriculture. However, rice (*panay*) was unimportant before the mid 1920s.

In 1926, the Japanese put the land registration policy into practice. At the same time, they persuaded the Ami to grow rice instead of millet. From 1926 to 1931, the villagers in Iwan built three irrigation systems for public use and each household converted some dry farm-land into paddy field with the help of the Japanese. As a result, since the 1930s, rice has replaced millet as the staple food.

Paddy field agriculture is different from the slash-and-burn method in many ways. Because Taiwan is located in a sub-tropical area, paddy field rice can be

[8] The latter food item was brought by each person from their own house.

harvested twice a year in Iwan. According to some informants (including Asala, Dipon and Lifok) because the Ami devoted much more time to rice cultivation than before, their agricultural production increased two or three fold. Consequently, they had neither the time nor the interest to grow other crops, such as sweet potato, or yam which were important in supplying the food they needed when they were growing millet.

Furthermore, in order to be in line with paddy field agriculture, many new household facilities were introduced into the village. For example, in the category of agricultural implements (*sakatayal to omah*), they had *kikay* (machines to remove grain from the stalks), *tafalian* (machines to dry the grains), *palidog* (two-wheeled vehicles dragged by water buffalo), *fanas* (a knife used in harvest) etc. To cook and serve the rice (*holo*), new implements were used, such as *dagah* (a big cooker), *sioy* (rice container), *kaysig* (dish for serving food). Most of the implements, especially those made from iron, were bought from Chinese merchants (*paliwalay*).

Water buffaloes were introduced into the village and became highly valued. They were not only used to help with agricultural work, but also provided the most precious meat for feasts. In order to keep the water buffaloes, a common farm was set up outside the settlement site in the 1930s. Some relevant conventions (*kasasowlan*) were introduced at the same time, such as punishments and repayments for the serious offence of stealing or hurting another's water buffalo. Furthermore, every household should name each of their water buffaloes, and they should announce to the rest of the village the number of their water buffaloes from time to time.

In 1926, a grocery shop, which was run by a Chinese family, was set up in the village. Before then, the Ami either had to go to Chenggung, a town about 30 km from Iwan, to buy the things they needed, or had to purchase them from itinerant Chinese merchants, who visited different Ami villages irregularly. After the first shop in Iwan was set up, produce from the outside world began to reach to the village more easily. Not only personal belongings, such as uniforms for school children and western style

clothes for all ages, but also items of household furniture, such as *stowakaw* (big wardrobe) and *lipa* (small wardrobe), became more and more available.

Before the use of money became common in the 1950s, the Ami needed something to exchange for the goods they desired. For example, they used skins of wild animals (such as deer or goat) or antelope horn, which the Chinese used for decoration or medicine, to exchange with the Chinese merchants for the things they needed. These items were still welcomed by Chinese merchants after the 1930s; although it became more and more difficult for the Ami hunters to catch the animals for this purpose because the animal population decreased rapidly. After the war, the Ami caught a certain kind of small fish (*sapahi*) to sell to Chinese dealers, who resold the baby fish to fish farms in western and southern Taiwan. Because this coastal fishing was not very difficult even women and children could manage it. Before its decline in the later 1950s, every summer almost all the villagers rushed to the seashore and earned some money in this way.

The Ami also went to the forest in their free time to gather certain plants, which were highly prized as raw materials by Chinese merchants. These plants included *sagasif* (a plant for making tea), *rao'* (fruit of a plant to make soap), and *sargad* (a kind of palm used for textiles) etc. Items to exchange with the Chinese came from agricultural production too. They planted bamboo (*'aol*) and peanut (*kodasig*) for this purpose. More importantly, they also used rice, their main staple food, to exchange for the things they needed. In other words, rice, the Ami's staple food, became a commodity which could be profit-oriented and self-centered (cf. Appadurai, 1986:11).[9] Because paddy field rice was introduced by the Japanese and Chinese and therefore there were no taboos which would stop them selling or exchanging the rice with outsiders. Asala and Lifok explained that it was strictly prohibited to do this with millet. Obviously, as a result of paddy field rice cultivation, economic life changed significantly.

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[9] However, Appadurai (1986:17) also reminds us that: "the commodity is not one kind of thing rather than another but one phase in the life of some things."

The Ami also bought things with cash which they earned by working outside the village. In 1905, ten years after taking control of Taiwan, the Japanese forced the Ami to do construction work (such as building highways or harbours) in eastern Taiwan without any payment. Around 1910, after a rebellion of the Ami against the Japanese in Chenggung in 1908, the Japanese began to pay wages to them, even though the forced labour was still controlled by the local police station and the wages for the Ami were only 50% of the wages paid in the labour market in Taiwan at that time (Suenari,1983:31). This forced labour (*misakuli*) persisted until the end of the war (1945). It was the major way for the Ami in Iwan to earn the money (*payso*) issued by the government. In addition to this, some people earned cash by working in a nearby small camphor oil factory run by the Chinese.

Money had become more and more important after 1910s. However, before the end of the war, for most of the time, the Ami acquired the products they needed from the Chinese merchants without paying cash. In other words, although the Chinese merchants decided the exchange rate for goods on the basis of a monetary system, for most of the Ami, money played only a minor role in their economic life at that time. In this context, the local grocery shop functioned like a bank. Each household had an account in the shop. The owner of the shop sold merchandise to the Ami and bought the things he needed from his Ami customers using a debit/credit system. This system provided the basis for the Chinese merchants to practise usury against the Ami.

Because the Ami considered paddy field rice to be fundamentally different from millet, the connection between cultivation and calendric rites was broken. Obviously, the development from millet agriculture to a rice one was significant. For the Ami, it meant that the new model had "become a way of constructing or seeing their experience, even though they did not initiate that experience" [10](Gudeman,1986:25).

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[10] Millet and rice might be seen as two metaphors to understand how some Ami Catholics (e.g. Asala and Lifok) perceive their past. While millet was an essential element of the Ami's creation stories and stood for their independency, rice was introduced by the Japanese and therefore associated with the influences from outside world. Furthermore, in a slash-and-burn millet agriculture, all households in a village tended to cooperate together; but in a paddy rice agriculture the autonomy of a household was

Most of the rituals concerned with agriculture, such as sowing, weeding, and harvesting, were discontinued. However, two of the traditional calendric rites which were continued were *miwarak* and *misacpo'*, both concerned with fishing. *Ilisin*, the most important Ami new year ritual, was still held, but now, in order to be in line with the rice growing cycle, it took place in late July, because the second harvest of paddy rice was normally in mid or late June. Although changed, the calendric rites still reflected the Ami's economic life.

In the early 1950s two other calendric rites were observed which were not related to the Ami's traditions, a sign of the increasing influences from dominant outsiders. The first one was *misatfon*, a ritual to worship the guardian god of the well. This ritual began in the 1930s after the Japanese set up three wells (*tfon*) in the settlement. Each year, in April or May, there was a village cleaning day, which was determined by the local officials. After cleaning all the three wells by the *pakarogay*, the *mama no kapah* came to one of the wells. They held a bamboo stick, on the top of which was fastened a rice cake, and walked around the well. Then they lowered the rice cake to the top of the well and prayed: Oh, you the guardian god of this well, please accept our rice cake. This is to thank you for your care of this well. Please let the water spring like a waterfall as before. Please provide us with drinking water without shortage. Please taste this rice cake. After this each of them threw a small piece of the cake into the well. Then they went to the second and third wells and treated them in this way.

The second ritual was the new year ceremony of the solar calendar (*kasiwagacan*), and this was influenced by the Japanese in the same way as the *misatfon* was[11]. During their occupation of Taiwan, the Japanese decreed the first four

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strengthened. Most importantly, in terms of their religious life, apart from the difference in calendric rites, the Ami also created a new phrase (*paklag*) to replace the old term (*mili'alac*) in order to accomodate their socio-economic change (see section 1.4). These change could be viewed in terms of the Ami's entry into a global economy, but I do not wish to pursue this avenue of study in this thesis.

11 *Siwagac* is the Ami's pronunciation of the Japanese word for January.

days of the new year a national holiday, and people were encouraged to celebrate these special days according to the Japanese custom.

Up to the end of the Second World War, the Ami celebrated these days in the way imposed by the Japanese government. For example, on New Year's Eve every household cleaned its own house and decorated it in a Japanese way to welcome the coming of the New Year. In the early morning of that day, the *pakarogay* announced to the village that there was to be a four-day holiday starting the next day. The next morning, the first day of the new year, each household had to worship the Japanese god and the tablet of the dead of the household. Pupils and young men had to report to the school and then went to the temple of the Japanese god for a big ceremony. On that morning they had Japanese style food for their breakfast. After that, each household had its own celebration. People visited each other and drank and ate during the holidays. Following the Japanese custom, the children wore new clothes and could play all day.

After the Japanese left, the Ami no longer worshipped the Japanese god, but they still worshipped the dead of their own household. However, the new year holiday was shortened to two days by the Chinese government. This rite became less important after the mid 1950s, when Christianity became the Ami's religion.

Chapter 4

Religion and socio-cosmological order

4.1 *Kawas* and misfortune

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Ami used the concept of soul (*'adigo* or *sahaklog*) to explain dreams (*lmed*), illness (*adada*) and death (*patay*). The soul protected a person's body as long as he/she obeyed taboos. When a person disobeyed taboos, the soul would leave the body causing sickness or even death. In this sense, the soul had its own intentions and was involved in social life. There were many other supernatural beings existing either in heaven or on earth, depending on their nature, and almost everything had a *kawas*. Different supernatural beings were the agents from which different cosmic potencies came, and a proper relationship with the different *kawas* was an essential requirement to ensure good fortune.

The contents of prayers in different rituals suggest that the Ami sought health, long life, happiness and enough food (see section 1.3). A healthy elderly person with many offspring was regarded as having been protected by the *kawas*, and enjoyed the respect of others.

In Chapter 2, the relationship between social organisation and the life cycle rituals has been illustrated. These rituals, which mainly dealt with the relations of human souls to ancestors and to gods/goddesses in heaven, were significant for maintaining socio-cosmological order. Chapter 3 discussed how the Ami dealt with

spirits of plants (especially millet) and animals to meet their basic needs and how they thanked their ancestors and the gods in heaven.[1]

These life cycle rituals, calendric rites and taboos in everyday life, were essential to the maintenance of the socio-cosmological order and of success and prosperity in life. Misfortune came from failure to maintain the socio-cosmological order, either by non-adherence to rituals or by breaching taboos. The following two sections describe how the Ami dealt with their life crises, such as illness and starvation, and restored their socio-cosmological order through different rituals.

4.2 *Adada* and *cikawasay*

The Ami in Iwan were influenced by modern medicine from 1926, when the Japanese government set up a western-pattern public health clinic in Chenggung. However, it was only in the 1950s, after most of the Ami had converted to Christianity, that the traditional Ami medical system in Iwan was largely replaced by western methods.

The pre-Christian Ami explained any physical discomfort by a theory of *adada*. In daily language, *adada* can be used to refer to any abnormal situation. For example, in addition to being used to refer to somatic pains and abnormal conditions of the human body, it can be used to refer to a widow, a widower or a couple who have suffered repeatedly the loss of their children. It seems that the best translation for *adada* is affliction.

With my assistance Kuei-chau Huang (Lifok), a native of Iwan, was able to publish a paper, in Chinese, on the pre-Christian Ami concept of *adada* (1989). In this paper, he divides the *adada* into two categories: the first was ordinary illness (*magta'ay*

[1] This pattern is similar to that of the Bemba and Bisa in Africa: "The environment contained enough objects for human sustenance, if social rules rather than natural laws were followed" (Gudeman, 1986:108).

adada), including a few cases such as external injuries or slight diarrhoea; the second involved a supernatural theory for the afflictions of human beings which could not be explained by their ordinary knowledge (*no kawasan adada*). In his opinion, traditionally the Ami explained most of their illness by the concept of *kawas*.

The extra-ordinary illnesses were interpreted in two different ways. If someone had breached a taboo (*paysin*) and made the gods or ancestors angry, these supernatural beings might cause the person, or sometimes someone in his/her family, to become ill. Another explanation had nothing to do with taboos; it was thought that evil spirits or ghosts inflicted living people with illness. Sometimes, certain illnesses could be due to either or both of these causes.

Seen from another Ami perspective, it could be said that the fundamental reason to explain a person's illness was that one's soul could not protect one's body effectively. Sometimes illness was directly explained by the soul getting lost or being frightened. This was commonly used to explain a child's illness. In case of an adult's extra-ordinary illness, a more sophisticated model was required to explain why their soul did not work very well. For example, if they had disobeyed taboos and the god or goddess (such as *Faydogi, Kakacawan*) did not protect them any more; or if they had disobeyed taboos and the gods or ancestors sent an illness as a punishment; or if spirits of animals or plants had lodged in their body and frightened their soul.

It must be emphasised that, for the extra-ordinary illnesses, although there was some vague relationship between the symptoms and the name of the illness, most of the illnesses were just named by the kind of customs which had been breached and so caused the sickness. Therefore, the social customs rather than the symptoms were more relevant for finding out the solution to an extra-ordinary illness.

Ordinary illnesses were treated according to common-sense knowledge and experience. Sometimes old men used their own knowledge to treat the causes of certain extra-ordinary illnesses. However, in most of the cases, it was the job of a bamboo oracle specialist (see section 1.3) to discover the cause of an illness and suggest a local healer who could provide a cure.

A person became a traditional healer by obeying the calling of a god or goddess (*cacikawas han no 'daw*) as indicated by the bamboo oracle which would be consulted when a family member was sick. Alternatively, one could become a local healer in order to cure one's own sickness (*o sakagay no adada*), an affliction given to the person by the god or goddess so that they might find their calling. Lastly, one could become a local healer intentionally (*malamanirocok*) by seeking a master from whom one learnt the art.

A person formally became a traditional healer when the master iniated the pupil into the rites of the primary *salo'afag* (god or goddess)[2]. After that, the newly-qualified practitioner had to obey certain special taboos. For example, a local healer could not feed pigs or touch the excrement of a pig. They could not touch the sexual organs of the opposite sex with their right hand and they could not help any woman in the process of childbirth. They should obey these taboos all their life, otherwise sickness or even death would be the result. On the other hand, if they followed these taboos, then their *salo'afag* would protect them and give them good fortune.

Some people became traditional healers simply to cure an illness of their own or of a family member. Therefore, accepting a *salo'afag* was itself a healing ritual. However, whether or not they were cured, they should not give up their *salo'afag*. Before the end of the 1950s, there were at least twenty local healers in Iwan. Some could only heal (i.e. *mamisair*) and some could only preside over certain rituals (e.g. *mamaagag*) while others could do both.

There were four groups of traditional healers in Iwan and the *tada cikawasay* was the group with the longest history. *Tada* means real, though some informants (e.g. Asala and Lifok) also called this group old style traditional healers (*no to'asho a cikawasay*). This term was commonly used in the 1950s, when the other three groups had been introduced into Iwan. A traditional healer of this *tada* group could do both *mamaagag* and *mimisair*. Usually they used banana leaf (*lo'oh*), raw ginger (*'adiyam*), and wine (*'pah*) to perform the rituals.

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[2] This ritual was called *mapakawas*.

Since the early 1940s, the influence of the *tada cikawasay* had decreased and another group called *misapayciay* took the dominant role from them. In the Ami language, *payci* refers to any official coin, either issued by the Japanese or the Chinese government. This group gained this name because in their healing rituals the healer sucked a coin out from the infected part of the patient. They were similar to the *tada cikawasay*, except for use of a coin in their healing rituals.[3] They could do both *mamaagag* and *mimisair*. When in a *mamaagag* they could even co-operate with the *tada cikawasay*.

Another group, which was popular in the 1940s and 1950s, was called *misaiyanaay*. This name derives from the obscure word *iyiana* repeated again and again in the song which they sang in the rituals. Another name for this group was *misatarayay* derived from the name of its founder. Taray was originally born in Tomi'ac, the village to the south of Iwan. He was married to a woman from Tokar village, and had been a policeman and head of Tokar before he came back to his home village after the war (1945). Since he had had close contact with the Han Chinese, other aboriginal groups (such as the Atayal), and other Ami villages (such as Vata'an), he was familiar with these people's folk medicines, he created a new group, which was very different from *tada cikawasay* and *misapayciay*. In the 1950s, six people in Iwan belonged to this group. They could do both *mamaagag* and *mimisair*.[4] However, they never co-operated with the *tada cikawasay* or *misapayciay* in *mamaagag*. In a way, they were like professional healers, because the reward for their service was about 3-4 times that of *tada cikawasay* and *misapayciay*.

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[3] The fact that money is involved in a healing ritual is significant. Just as Parry and Bloch (1989:23) say: "What money means is not only situationally defined but also constantly re-negotiated." I am interested in why money was involved in this healing ritual, and what is the relation between this practice and the Ami's acceptance of market economy. More investigation is needed on these two points.

[4] Although people came to certain traditional healer(s) after taking advice from a bamboo oracle specialist, I suspect that the new groups were seen as being particularly good at curing those afflictions which involved outsiders. Further research is needed to clarify this.

The last group was called *misakaramay* and in Iwan only one *cikawasay* belonged to it. This man, Saytowan, came from a village called Fafokod, about 60 kilometres from Iwan. He specialised in *mamisair* and the bamboo oracle; he even knew a little Chinese geomancy. Because he used *karam* (a kind of coloured bead) in the ritual, people called this kind of traditional healer *misakaramay*. According to Lifok, Saytowan's technique came from another aboriginal group, the Piwma[5]. The acceptance of cash as payment made *misakaramay* very different from the other three groups.

There were two basic themes in the healers' rituals. With regard to sickness arising as a result of punishment by gods or ancestors, the theme of these rituals was asking for forgiveness. With regard to illness resulting from contact with evil spirits or ghosts, expulsion of these supernatural beings was the theme of the rituals. Those diseases that were caused by the combination of both kinds of supernatural beings were treated in rituals that combined the two themes.

There were some kinds of extra-ordinary illnesses (*no kawasan adada*) which could be cured by a layman rather than a traditional healer. For example, *malati'ay* was a kind of illness which resulted from the patient touching or being close to someone else's vegetable garden and so was caught by the a spiritual potency (*lati'*) produced by the owner of the garden after performing a magical ritual. After finding out which household's *lati'* had caused the illness, a cure could be sought from the head of the household who was asked to perform the healing ritual. If sickness was caused by a spirit of an animal, then the patient could seek a cure from a successful hunter who performed another kind of healing ritual. As mentioned before, some sicknesses could be cured simply by changing a baby's name. Even now many Ami still believe that a name-changing ritual can drive out one's misfortune. Therefore, the name-changing ritual can be seen as a healing ritual as well.

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5 The Ami pronunciation for Puyuma (see Map 2).

4.3 Rites for natural disasters

In the early 1950s, on the eve of their conversion to Christianity, there were five rites by which the Ami dealt with natural disaster.[6] The main focus in the five rites was the provision of the food the Ami needed for their survival.

a) *misalifog* (expelling evil ritual)

When an infectious disease had been spreading throughout a village, and when the numbers of sick and dying rose rapidly, the village leader would consider this a bad omen for his village. He would discuss this matter with other village councillors and decide to do a ritual to expell evil (*misalifog*). This kind of disaster was thought to originate from a village ritual (such as the new year ritual *ilisin*) that had been performed incorrectly and as a direct consequence evil entered the village.

A household could hold a *misalifog* ritual for its own benefit. For example, after consulting the bamboo oracle, a household would ask a local healer to perform a ritual which was similar, but on a smaller scale, to those performed for the whole village by the age-group organisation. It is worth describing in detail how a village level *misalifog* was carried out.

Before 1945 when the Japanese still governed Taiwan, a *misalifog* usually lasted more than one-and-a-half days. During the first day, all the members of the age-group organisation gathered in the men's house. The young men (*kapah*, refer to Table 2-1) were divided into three teams. The first team went to the forest to collect a kind of grass called *haldo*, which was put in the men's house and used for expelling (*mifahfah*) evil the next day. The second team went to the road junction to the north of Iwan, where they set up a decorative gate (*lowil*). The third team went to the south end of the

[6] All the rituals mentioned in this section were used by the Ami in connection with millet before they adopted rice cultivation. Since the 1930s when rice was introduced by the Japanese the Ami have not grow any millet.

village and set up another *lowil.* The gates were made of bamboo, four metres high and as wide as the road. With different replica weapons (such as wooden axes and wooden spears) hanging from the top of *lowil,* it was believed that these gates could keep away evil. The older men (*mato'asay,* refer to Table 2-1) although not actively taking part in the ritual, stayed in the men's house, where they waited for the younger men to return. When all these preparations had been made, the older members of the age-group organisation who had been in the men's house could go home, but the young members had to sleep in the men's house after they had had supper in their own houses.

On the second day at about 3 o'clock in the morning, the ritual to expel evil began. Usually the young men were divided into two teams, which both started from the centre of the village, one worked towards the north and the other worked towards the south. The choice of which team was to begin was determined by the bamboo oracle. Taking the northward group as an example, they started the ritual by approaching a house, which was the nearest one to the centre of the village, and shouted: Open the door! When the door was opened, they rushed into the house and swept all the corners and furniture with the *haldo* grass to expel evil spirit. At the same time, they shouted: You evil spirits, go away, go to the sea, go to Vata'an[7], go to Tafalog[8]. Before leaving, they shouted Ho! and stamped heavily on the ground, then the householders shut the door quickly. After this, the *mifahfahay* (people expelling the evil) moved to another house and repeated the procedure. They did the same thing in each house until they had visited all the houses in the northern part of the village. The other team was working its way through all the houses in the southern part of the village, having started at a different time determined by the bamboo oracle.

They had to finish the ritual in all the houses at about dawn. Then they expelled the evil out through the *lowil* and went back to the men's house. After they had burned the *haldo* grass, they were dismissed and went home for breakfast.

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[7] An Ami village with a long history and a big population.

[8] Another Ami village similar to Vata'an.

Usually, on the first day of the *misalifog*, all the villagers stayed at home and no normal work was done. On the next day, they would not do any agricultural work, but they could go fishing or collecting food in the forest.

b) *mitapoh* (expelling blight ritual)

Mitapoh was performed when crops were damaged by blight. The Ami believed that this was caused by an evil sprit and was the result of punishment from the ancestors in heaven. The purpose of the ritual was to drive the evil spirit out and to placate the ancestors.

When a household found that only its own crops had been withered by a blight, the head of the household summoned her relatives to discuss whether to have an expulsion ritual or not. The bamboo oracle was used to decide who should perform the ritual. Any adult member, male or female, could not refuse to do this job if he/she was chosen.

Generally, the expelling ritual was done at dawn and had to be finished before neighbours went to work. The person to perform the ritual dressed up first. Then he /she, holding a bamboo or wooden stick (*cokor*), set off alone to the field which was damaged. On arrival, the stick was inserted into the ground, and the person conducting the ritual then took three or four steps back. Facing the stick he/she prayed: Mother god, I come here because I want to expel rice-blight. I want to pour the water[9] in the field out because it makes the rice withered. After this, he/she murmured: Do it, the water is no use for this field. Then the person who performed the ritual scooped up some of the water with both hands and threw it out, at the same time shouting: You, water, get away to the east sea, because you have damaged my rice. After this, he/she went to the edge of this field, scooped up some water from the canal and poured it into the field, shouting at the same time: Rice, you will be flourishing as *damay*, *kidaec*,

[9] According to a Catholic informant, Arik, the element of water in the ritual was introduced after the paddy rice agriculture was introduced into the village in the 1930s.

kinafoloh.[10] Having said this, the person came back to the stick and said: Mother god, let's go home now. The stick was picked up and the person went home, but was not allowed to talk to anyone he/she met on the way home. If someone called, the person could not answer, but just used the stick to tap the caller's head gently. After arriving home, the person went straight to bed and pretended to be asleep. After a short while, another family member woke him/her up: It's morning now. Are you still sleeping? Get up, get up. It's time for work. He/she replied: It's morning? Oh, yes, I have to get up now. The person would then get up and put on clothes as if nothing had happened.

If all the crops in the village had been withered by a blight the head of the village would ask an experienced expert to do a bamboo oracle and choose a group from the young men (*kapah*, refer to Table 2-1) in the age-group organisation to conduct the ritual. When the group had been chosen they discussed the date and place of the ritual. Before the day of the ritual, the *pakrogay* informed all villagers: We are going to have an expelling ritual tomorrow. Group so-and-so are the executives. All the members of the age-group organisation must assemble in the men's house. No one is allowed to work during the day. Next day, the members of the group chosen to perform the ritual dressed up before they left home. After all the members of the group had later assembled at the men's house, each one of them held a stick and went to the appointed place. On their way, they were not allowed to speak or answer other people's questions. If someone wanted to speak to them, they only patted that person's head and said nothing.

After arriving at the appointed place, they started the ritual. The form of this ritual was similar to the one which was performed for a household whose rice was blighted. The only difference being that in a rite involving the whole village, members of the age-group organisation would collect four or five insects and put them into a hole in a bamboo stick or a bag. Then they went to the seaside, threw out the insects with the sticks or bags and said: You! Go away! Go to the east of the sea. When they had

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[10] The first term *damay* is a moss that grows in water. The other two terms presumably are wild plants too but I don't know which kinds of plants they are.

done all of this, they went back to the men's house, and lay down on the bed. After a while someone would come and wake them up with: Hi, it's morning now, are you still sleeping? Get up and go to work now. Which prompted response: Oh, you are right. It is morning now. We will get up. Then they all got up and rested for a while, then they went home.

c) *pakacidal* (requesting sunshine)

In the past, this kind of ritual was mainly used to prevent millet or rice being damaged in the ripening season. In the 1950s, when rice became the Ami's main crop, this ritual could be performed from the middle of June to the beginning of July, and from the end of November to January. When the head of the village observed that it would be overcast in the coming days, he discussed with the village councillors to see if a *pakacidal* should be performed. If they decided to perform this ritual, they used the bamboo oracle to decide when and which age group would be involved. After they had decided, the *pakarogay* informed all the villagers. In the early morning the *pakarogay* would run along the road shouting: Wo! We are going to do *pakacidal* today. There is an assembly in the men's house. All the members of the age-group organisation must be there. Although all the members gathered in the men's house, only one group carried out the ritual. The other groups just stayed in the men's house while the chosen group was performing the ritual.

At the beginning of the *pakacidal* ritual, the appointed group had to prepare three torches.[11] Each torch was made from straw, with rattan ties. The circumference of each torch was about 20cm and its length was about 140cm. They lit the first torch and one of them carried it to the front eaves of a house. The man holding the torch lifted it with his two hands and shouted in unison with his group members three times: Oh! Please come out, dear sun. They usually started the ritual from the first house at the north end and worked towards to the last house at the south end of the village. When they had conducted the ritual at a house, the head of the house would go out and

[11] The number of torches was decided by the length of ritual they expected.

give them a bowl of green beans or a piece of smoked meat as a reward. After having done the ritual in all the houses in the village, they came back to the men's house with the green beans and meat, which would be shared by all the members of the age-group organisation. When performing the requesting sunshine ritual, drinking, singing and dancing were not allowed and no other rituals were undertaken. After having eaten, they went home separately. If after 7-8 days, it was still raining, they performed the ritual again. This time they chose another group to perform the ritual. In other words, another group would be chosen by the bamboo oracle. After the Ami in Iwan had converted to Roman Catholicism, a mass was held in the church to replace the traditional requesting sunshine ritual. Therefore the ritual was not performed by the age-group organisation and the torch was no longer used.

d) *paka'orar* (requesting rain)

In the 1950s, a *paka'orar* was mainly used to protect the rice. If after transplanting the rice seedlings, it had not rained at all from February to March, the head of the village discussed with village councillors the possibility of doing a requesting rain ritual. Choosing which day to perform the ritual on was decided using the bamboo oracle.

Usually the people who participated in this ritual were the *mato'asay*, the head of the village, the appointed *kapah*, the old female heads of each household, and all the widows and widowers. However, not all the members of the senior age groups had to partake in the ritual. Sometimes, even the head of the village did not need to participate as the bamboo oracle played an important role in deciding who should take part in this ritual. The place to perform the ritual was normally in Iwan Brook, however, in which particular area of Iwan Brook depended on the bamboo oracle too. Usually, the appointed place was in *Citadmay*, a location about 500 metres up the brook from Iwan Bridge.

The procedure for the requesting for rain ritual was as follows. After having eaten their breakfast, all the participants assembled at the appointed place. While the

young men went to the mountains to collect the mature leaves of *tdah* (a plant with juicy stems) which only grew on high ground, some experienced men set up a tripod of sticks (*cara*), tied with the stem of *lgac* (a plant), in the middle of the stream. Then they hung a pot (*kafory*) from the *cara*. After that, all the participants held a *lgac* round the *cara* and waited for the young men to return. The young men who were sent to collect *tdah* had to run a long distance. On their way they were not allowed any delay and they took two hours to go to *Citdahay* mountain and return. Therefore, the young men who were singled out for this job were all good long-distance runners. Usually there were 7-8 young men to do this job. When they came back to the locus, they shouted: Oh! Oh! As the waiting people heard this sound, they stood up and began to sing and dance. The words of the song were Rain God! You are good! While they were singing and dancing, they were tapping the water with their *lgac*. The returning young men ran straight to the centre of the brook and threw the *tdah* into the *cara* one at a time. At the same time, they shouted: Rain god please let it rain. The other people answered: Let it rain! After all the young men had returned, all the participants poured water over each other. Meanwhile, they shouted Oh! Oh! in excitement. Then they got the *tdah* together and put them on the *cara* and went to the bank. Facing the *cara*, they started dancing and singing. They sang like this: Rain God , Oh! Oh! Oh! Let it rain, Oh! Oh! Oh! If there were some people who were good at arranging the words of a song, they could lead people singing in turn to please the rain god. About every half an hour they went to the stream and poured water over each other for a while, and then returned to the bank and continued singing and dancing. They repeated these two actions all day. They would have to continue the ritual until dark, even if it began to rain.

e. *misataknaway* (preventing-starvation ritual)

Taknaway was an evil ghost which normally wandered in the forest. The Ami in Iwan believed that an invasion by *Taknaway* could cause starvation for them. If a household went hungry because of a poor harvest, they considered that it was caused

by *Taknaway*. So they would ask a traditional healer to do a preventing-starvation ritual for the household. If a whole village suffered food shortage because of a poor harvest, the age-group organisation would do a ritual to prevent starvation for the whole village. The pre-ritual discussion and the content of this ritual were basically the same as the aforementioned *misalifog* ritual. How a village style *misataknaway* was performed can be dealt with briefly. The group to perform the ritual was again chosen by the bamboo oracle from the *kapah* (young men's groups), and after they had had breakfast they assembled in the men's house. The ritual would begin from the house at the southern end of Iwan. At first, the executives using a wooden or bamboo stick hit the wall, bed, or anything that could make a noise in the house. They shouted: Go away! Don't stay here! You are the root of laziness and poverty! You are the source of misfortune, go away! Go away! Go to the east sea, go to Vata'an and Tafalog! After they had done the same ritual in each house of the village, they came back to the men's house and were dismissed, thus ending this ritual.

This ritual has not been performed since most of the people in the village converted to Christianity in the 1950s.

4.4 Pre-Christian society and religion reconsidered

In his short paper, Li (1986) compares the socio-religious systems of the Ami and of the Atayal, two of the aboriginal groups of Taiwan. After comparing social organisation, myths, rituals and ritual practitioners, he (*ibid.*:250) concludes that:

> "...the socio-religious structures of the Ami and the Atayal belong to two different systems. In each system, the social organisation and the religious beliefs, which reflect and interact with each other closely, form a systematic coherence. Ami society, not only in terms of kinship organisation but also in terms of village organisation (especially age-group organisation), is based on a strict hierarchical principle. In their religious beliefs, not only their supernatural

beings form a hierarchical order, but their ritual practitioners also form a corresponding system; both of them illustrate marked hierarchical ideas." (my translation)

Although this paper was first published in 1962, in terms of using anthropological theory and pin-pointing the nature of Ami society and its religion, it is perhaps the best among all Ami studies. Thus it provides a good starting point for my own account. My criticism of it will focus on both theoretical and ethnographic aspects.

In terms of theory, Li's paper is based on a positivistic approach and adopts a form of functionalism to study social reality. His main concern is with: "how societies, social systems, or structure function" (Holy and Stuchlik,1983:1). However, since the 1960s anthropologists' interests have been shifting from function to meaning and they have paid more and more attention to social action than to the so-called "social or cultural system" (cf. Ortner,1984). I disagree with Li because local knowledge should always take precedence in any anthropological analysis.

Regarding ethnography I am interested in the following two questions: What was the role of hierarchy in traditional Ami society? What was the meaning of religion in traditional Ami society? This section focuses on these two questions. I hope that my approach can generate new insights into Ami society and its religion.

In pre-Christian Ami society not all individuals[12] were necessarily "full persons as agents-in-society" (Harris,1989:600). A new-born baby received an immature human soul (*sahaklog*) and its standing in social groups through a naming ritual. Before that time, a baby was seen as being more or less equal to an animal and was not yet seen as a proper human being. A man achieved his mature human soul (*'adigo*) around the age of 13-15 at an initiation ritual. After that, he had certain duties and gained rights, and his dreams were treated carefully as real dreams and no longer as illusions as in the case of an immature person. A woman achieved adult status roughly at the same age but initiation was not used.

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[12] The distinctions between individual, person and self are based on Harris, 1989.

With regard to the discussion of self, we might get some clues from the Ami's concept of *faloco'*. The literal meaning of *faloco'* is heart [13]. This word can be used to refer to a person's attitudes, personality, or character. For example, the Ami call one's conscience *o ga'agay a faloco'* (good heart)[14]. Another word *misafaloco'* can be used as a verb or a noun. When it is used as a verb, it means to consider something. When it is used as a noun, it means a plan or a plot. For the Ami *faloco'* is used to describe the more individual and purposeful aspects of the self especially those concerned with desires. The local people think that there are five cardinal human desires: riches (*dafog*), sex (*'tol*), a good reputation (*gagan*), sleep (*foti'*), and food (*ka'en*). All these desires come from man's *faloco'*. They use this concept to explain the desires which motivate an individual's behaviour and contrast it with *adigo'* (soul) which is more to do with conscience and social solidarity.

The concept of soul plays a pivotal role in forming an understanding of Ami society. In pre-Christian social life, the concept of soul was more important than individual desire, because the Ami believed that the soul of a person only protected him/her when he/she obeyed social customs, and only a proper relationship with *kawas* could allow an individual to fulfil their desires. In this sense, the cosmological and social order fused together. Furthermore, almost all of the Ami's important activities were concerned with their duties in different social groups. Therefore, the concept of person, which was concerned with their standing in society, was more important than the concept of self, which was concerned with the experience of an individual[15].

Another concept *godo* was equally important. This word has two meanings; the first one is positive, such as respect or politeness, and the second one is negative, such as embarrassment or shame. For example, *Magodo kako to ina* means: I am respectful to my mother. The negative meaning on the other hand is used to describe a person's own feelings. For example, *Magago cigra to nika ciraraw* means: He/she is ashamed of

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[13] It is said that the physical substance of *faloco'* is heart, which is located in one's chest.

[14] Here *ga'agay* means good.

[15] This is one reason why the knowledge of *faloco'* is far less systematic than the knowledge of *kawas* among the Ami.

his/her sin. Everyone had his/her own desires, and from these desires sprang strategies, goals and the energy required to fulfil the desires. At the individual level, *faloco'* and *'adigo* represented two selves which should be kept in balance. The importance of the concept *godo* was that it helped one to perceive one's own desires and standing and to behave properly.

Now I shall discuss hierarchy and egalitarianism in pre-Christian Ami society and I will focus on age-based discriminations first. Although Errington (1990:40) mainly deals with gender relations in south-east Asian societies, I find her ideas very useful:

> "Island Southeast Asians tend not to be biological reductionists: they usually do not claim that women, because they are anatomically women, are weak or ineffective. Rather, they are probabilists: they point out that women and men are basically the same, but because of the activities women engage in or fail to do, they tend not to become prominent and powerful."

The Ami knew that there were physical differences between men and women. In terms of the human soul and human desires, however, they thought that men and women were basically the same. It was impossible for a woman to be elected as a village councillor, let alone as the village head, simply because she was excluded from the age-group organisation. Clearly this is an example of gender inequality. Gender inequalities are also found in other areas of Ami life. In the *gasaw* (clan) leadership always lay in the hands of men and in religion women were forbidden to worship the supreme god (*Malataw*), pray in the *mifir* style and stamp their feet during worship. However pre-Christian Ami hierarchies were not solely based on gender discrimination. Age difference provided another very significant basis for the formation of political hierarchies.

The priority of seniors was an important principle in pre-Christian Ami social life and the Ami expressed it in a phrase *kasakakaka no 'orip* (respect the elder). This principle could be found within a household, the basic social unit. The most salient hierarchical element in Ami kinship was the relationship between parents and children.

The obligations of a father (*mama*) and a mother (*ina*) were to nurture, protect and educate their children (*wawa*). In return, a child should respect his/ her parents and, when it was necessary, care for them in their old age. The second major hierarchical principle in Ami kinship was the seniority which separated older from younger siblings. It was manifested in the terms *kaka* and *safa* which, respectively, were older sibling and younger sibling. As a principle, senior was given more respect than junior. The age hierarchy was even more strongly emphasised in the age-group organisation, where seniority was based entirely on the age principle.

Elders were normally respected by their junior relatives, because they were considered to be closer to the ancestors who were one of the important sources of cosmic potency[16]. People feared that if they did not respect an elderly person, once he/she died and became an ancestor they would be in trouble. Furthermore, worship of the ancestors and the spirits of millet, and the important rites that ensured good fortune, were normally performed and controlled by the older people. Thus juniors learnt the value of obeying seniors.

The age-group organisation was originally formed for defence purposes and was based on a locality principle. From the point of view of access to cosmic potency, the oldest age group was more important than other groups, because they were closer to the ancestors, and therefore they had the right to worship certain *kawas* (such as the sea god).

Therefore, in principle older people received favourable treatment when a group assigned work, distributed food and allocated resting places. This happened more clearly in ritual than in daily life, and in the activities of the age-group organisation than in that of kinship groups. Thus, one might expect that in a ritual organised by the age-group organisation, the principle of seniority would clearly displayed.

The Ami also believed that all human beings were basically the same, and this egalitarian view could be found both in the kinship group and the age-group

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16 The Ami call an elderly person *mato'asay*. This means a person (*-ay*) who is becoming (*ma-*) ancestor (*to'as*).

organisation. Among the kin groups, *kaka* and *safa* could be used both as terms of reference and as terms of address. But when a person wished to express their unhappiness with an elder sibling, he/she could, rather than use *kaka*, address them using a personal name or refer to them using a sibling term (*malkaay*). Both these forms would normally be considered disrespectful as a *safa* should always use *kaka* when addressing or referring to an elder sibling. Furthermore, through the mechanism of household fission, siblings were potential heads of other households and all households were regarded as being of equal status both in the kinship group and in the village. In this sense, even the parent-child hierarchy could be levelled with a mother and her daughter being heads of different households. In the age-group organisation, the intra-group relations were ambiguous. On the one hand, its members could use *kaka* or *safa* to address each other according to their relative ages. However, on the other hand, because their ages were roughly the same and they all passed the initiation at the same time, they could use *widag* (friend) to address each other if they liked.

I agree with Flanagan (1989:261) that: "There are not egalitarian societies... However, there are egalitarian contexts, or scenes, or situations". Egalitarian contexts existed among the Ami's everyday activities. For example, at a household meal, the food is shared by all the members and every one has an equal right to get what he/she needs. In the past, in an expelling blight ritual, every adult member in the same household had an equal chance to be chosen as the person to conduct this ritual. This egalitarian ethos is particularly expressed in a hunting situation, where every participant had an equal right to share the catches obtained by the team. I think that past studies over-emphasise the hierarchical dimension in Ami society and neglect the egalitarian one. Hence the relationship between senior and junior, such as parent-child (*ina/mama-wawa*) or elder brother/sister-younger brother/sister (*kaka–safa*), attracted more attention than any relationships of equality, such as friendship (*widag*) or siblingship (*malkaay*).

Although Ami society was characterised by the inequalities generated by the seniority principle, the established hierarchy was legitimised through a discourse of

equality. For example, in a feast organised by the age-group organisation, the distribution of food was based on a seniority principle; nevertheless even the youngest group had their allotment. In other words, under the appearance of the age hierarchy there was still a principle of sharing among all the members. This happened in the kinship groups too.

I suggest that the concept of sharing was also important in Ami social groups. In fact, a person who had the more senior position and enjoyed the respect of others should fulfil his obligation of protection or blessing, otherwise his respected position would be endangered. This also applied to the person who held a special position in a group. In other words, the person who was in charge of certain important jobs was only a representative of his/her group and did not have absolute authority over other members in that group. In social life, the most respectable *ina* or *faki* was usually the one who was good at speech and communication with the ancestors. He/she was not necessarily the oldest one among the eligible members.[17] Ami political leaders could be seen in this perspective too.

The relationship between a village leader and his followers can be understood from its similarity to a special kind of Ami singing style.[18] As I have mentioned in section 1.4 above, except for some rare situations, such as a person working alone, most Ami songs are performed in a particular choral style. In other words, a person will sing alone first for a short while (*ti'iciw*), then the rest of the people join in (*lcad*). This leading and following pattern is often repeated again and again in a singing situation, particularly in a ritual. In theory anyone can sing alone first and then expect others to join in later. However, if he/she is not really good at singing or is not popular among the choir group, it is possible that no one will respond to the initiative. Most

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[17] In the sphere of the age-group organisation the *mama no kapah* (the leading youth group) had a prominent role in dealing with some village matters, even those matters which were both less prestigious and under the guardianship of the elderly.

[18] Y. Huang (1982) has discussed the relationship between the social structural principle of the Bunon, one of the nine Taiwanese aboriginal groups, and a very unique singing choir among them. I must thank him for giving me this information.

people who have been so humiliated will refrain from attempting to lead the choir. Therefore, in a formal ritual only a person who has confidence in his/her ability and is popular will try to lead the group. [19]

Similarly, in a group any possible candidate can compete with another to be its leader. To be elected as a village leader, which was the most prestigious honour in the past, a man had to be recognised by his supporters as suitable for the position. He had to fulfil his obligations both in his natal and in his wife's kinship groups. Any one group which withdrew its full support would destroy his ambition to be the village leader. Beyond these two kinship groups a man could extend his personal relations through a balanced reciprocity principle (cf. Sahlins,1974). Since the Ami in Iwan were largely endogamous "most individuals can trace kin or affinal ties with each other, and in many cases these ties are multiple" (Harrison, 1985:415). Therefore, like the Avatip in Papua New Guinea, "Interpersonal kinship is not, in a sense, a structurally 'limited' social universe, its only limits are those of the individual's initiative and energy" (*ibid.*:416).[20]

Once an able man was elected as the village head, not only did he himself enjoy the prestige but also his kins and his supporters could possibly benefit from his position.[21] In fact through his worship of *Malataw*, the supreme god of the Ami, all

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[19] Therefore this singing occasion can be seen as a test of one's popularity. It is an arena for men who are interested in politics. Apart from choral singing, public speech is an even more important arena for ambitious men to compete with each other. In kinship or village gatherings an adult man has many opportunities to make a speech. A popular speaker can always draw his audience's attention and when his speech is over the crowd, if pleased, will respond heartily with "Hay!" (yes!). On the other hand people tend to ignore the presentations of unpopular speakers or sometimes interrupt their speech impatiently.

[20] For the Ami, in addition to kin and affines, a man could extend his personal network through the age-group organisation.

[21] However, I do not imply that this position is equally appealing to everybody. From the viewpoint of a particular household, if a member of it becomes the village head (or even a village councillor) this could mean a loss of manpower. I learnt of several cases in which women discouraged their husbands' interests in village politics.

the villagers could benefit. This was why the majority of villagers supported the most competent man to be the village leader because this concerned their own interests too.

Now I will briefly look at religion in pre-Christian Ami society. It has been mentioned that *kawas* were invisible supernatural beings. Different *kawas* existed in different places and activated different cosmic potencies. The Ami used the concept of *kawas* to explain their physical and social world. On the one hand, the phenomena of everyday social life, such as one's success or failure, abilities or disabilities and the like, could be comprehended in terms of the concept of *kawas*. On the other hand, these phenomena could also be seen as proof of the cosmic potency of *kawas*.

I do not mean to imply that the concept of *kawas* encompasses all the Ami's cultural knowledge.[22] The concept of *kawas* was however the most important form of knowledge which functioned as the final cause to interpret their reality. For example, illnesses (*adada*) were classified into two main categories: the ordinary (*magta'ay*) and the extra-ordinary (*no kakawasan*). The former could be treated with exoteric knowledge, but almost all serious illness had a connection with certain *kawas*, and therefore should only be explained by religious knowledge (i.e. concept of *kawas*) and be treated through healing rituals (see section 4.2).

I want to emphasise here the importance of individual intentions in social action. Although notions concerning society and socio-cosmological order are used in this study I am not suggesting that they exist outside the minds of the Ami people. Rather I see them as a means by which people in power can legitimise or maintain their authority. I suggest that the pre-Christian religion persisted not because it had the singular function of maintaining pre-Christian Ami social order rather it was because the religion met the needs of individuals.

I also want to stress that customs do not simply determine actions. In other words, social actions are neither constrained by social forces nor by any unconscious mechanism. Instead I emphasise the continual creation and recreation of meaning by

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[22] Apart from *kawas*, there were concepts of space, time, the person and living things. These concepts were significant in many aspects of pre-Christian social life, especially in ritual activities.

individuals who manipulate cultural resources. This kind of view can provide us with a flexible framework to interpret the Ami's religious conversion, which I will discuss in the third part of this thesis.

It is also worthwhile to point out that almost all the description of pre-Christian Ami religion which I presented in Part One comes from Catholic informants. In their construction, pre-Christian religion is more concerned with the search for material benefits than with any abstract notions. This view legitimises the Catholics' way of life and their attitude towards Catholicism. On the other hand, the Presbyterians tend to see all the pre-Christian *kawas* as evil and avoid talking about their religious life before their conversion. Clearly history is associated with contemporary concerns rather than providing an insight into the past. It is not something that really happened rather it is something created by people after the events occurred.

Part Two

Colonial Impact

Chapter 5

Social conditions for religious conversion

5.1 The Ami's early contacts with outsiders[1]

In the following three sections it will be shown that the succession of takeovers by different governments and the implementation of their policies has had a significant impact upon Ami social life.

In the 17th century, the Dutch established a government at Tainan in the southwest plain of Taiwan. Six expeditions were sent by the Dutch government to eastern Taiwan in search of gold. They were made via a sea route from southwest Taiwan to the southeast part of the island, which was inhabited by Puyuma aborigines. The Dutch befriended the Puyuma in Taidung and with their assistance, they proceeded northward through the Ami area, in an attempt to reach the gold-bearing regions in the central mountains near Hwalyan.

The Dutch brought gifts, such as clothes, to the chiefs of several Ami villages. It was recorded that seven villages in the north made a peaceful agreement with the Dutch in 1641—which is thought to have been instigated by Chinese traders[2] (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee, 1984:79-80). Thus, in 1641 the Dutch authorities issued a notice commanding the Chinese to return to western Taiwan. In 1644, an assembly of aboriginal chiefs was called by the Dutch in Tainan and 11 Ami chiefs

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1 This section and the next are mainly based on the following sources: Chang, 1989; Y. Chen, 1890s; Hu, 1890s; Lwo *et al*, 1959; Taidung Gazetteer Committee, 1964; Yang, 1977.

2 Although many other villages never agreed to allow the Dutch into their territory.

attended the meeting. However, other Ami villages, such as Vata'an, not only refused to attend but also tried to persuade their neighbours not to do so.

In 1661, the Dutch were defeated by the loyalists of the Ming dynasty under General Jeng Cheng-gung. This ended Dutch rule in Taiwan. The Chinese organised an expedition to search for gold in eastern Taiwan, but it was stopped in Taidung by the Puyuma who did not allow the Chinese to pass through their territory.

Taiwan was taken over by the Ching court and incorporated into the empire under the direct jurisdiction of Fukien in 1684. In the 1690s, eight northern Ami villages were listed in the records of the Ching government as Chinese traders sailed annually into these villages for barter. These Chinese traders, known as tungsh, were registered with the Ching government for the purpose of taxation on their business, as some of which was carried out with the peoples in eastern Taiwan.

In 1722, the Ching government decreed that eastern Taiwan be closed and the Chinese there subsequently withdrew to western Taiwan in order to crush a rebellion led by Ju I-gwei, whose remaining supporters took refuge in Taidung. Eastern Taiwan was thereafter demarcated an aboriginal area. The area was defined by the partially walled erection of boundary, at which armed forces were established intermittently at strategic positions along the west side of the central mountains from the north to the south of the island. The aborigines, including the Ami, in this area were called raw aborigines in contrast to the aborigines who lived in the western and northern plains. These latter, regarded as subjects of the Ching court, were referred to as cooked aborigines.[3] In the eyes of the Ching government, the demarcated area expressed the boundary of their rule; transgression of the boundaries by persons from either side was formally banned so as to avoid fighting and casualties. However, an increasing number of Chinese immigrants continued to ignore the ban until it was finally lifted officially in 1875.

In 1797, for the first time, Chinese settlers obtained permission from the government to colonise the Yilan plain in the corner of north-east Taiwan. In 1812,

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[3] With regard to raw aborigines and cooked aborigines, see Introduction for detailed information.

this area became a sub-prefecture with its own local government.[4] In the 1820s, some cooked aborigines in south-west Taiwan started migrating toward the east; a village (called Dajwang) was formed between the Puyuma and the central Ami areas. About the same time, the aborigines in the Yilan plain were facing the intrusions of Chinese settlers whose southward migrations into the Ami areas started in the 1840s, and some villages were established by them in eastern Taiwan.

The Chinese started to colonise Hwalyan in 1812 when two settlers leased a piece of land from the Ami. In 1825, a third settler, Wu Chywan, organised 2,800 people to till the land in the region south of Hwalyan. In 1851, Huang A-feng led 2,200 people to the area for the same reason. None of the settlement attempts succeeded because of endemic malaria and attacks from aborigines. Nevertheless, some of the settlers scattered further south into Yuli where several Chinese had already crossed the central mountains from the west and settled there. In 1853, a Chinese settlement, Kerentseng, was founded in the central Ami area. It is recorded that on the eve of the incorporation of eastern Taiwan into Ching territory in 1874, Chinese immigrants numbered some 40 households in Hwalyan, 40 households in Yuli, 5 or 6 households in Chenggung and 28 households in Taidung.

The attitude of the Ching court toward Taiwan had been always concerned with the defence and security of mainland China, and there had never been any intention to colonise systematically eastern Taiwan. The Japanese military invasion of the land inhabited by the raw aborigines of southern Taiwan in 1874 changed this situation; for although the Japanese were defeated, this event made the Ching court realise that this island could be taken over by other nations. Therefore a positive colonisation policy replaced the negative one in 1875. For example, Taiwan became a sub-prefecture of the Ching government with a local government established in Tainan. An additional policy of 'opening up the mountains and taming the aborigines' was implemented (Taiwan Provincial Gazetteer Committee, 1984:371). At the same time, three columns

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[4] It is likely that by this time most arable land in western Taiwan was fully exploited.

of troops traversed the central mountains to open up three separate routes to the east. The Chinese became established at Hwalyan, Rweiswei, Yuli, and Taidung.

Some Chinese traders persuaded the leaders of Ami villages to become subjects of the Ching authorities. The Ami people were then rewarded with wine, food and other goods presented by Ching military commanders. In this way, the Ami were regarded as subjects of the Ching court and referred to as compliant raw aborigines in the Ching's classification, for they had not been sinicized (Sheng, 1979:7-8).

According to Ching policy, the compliant raw aborigines should have their hair cut and arranged like that of other Ching subjects. Clothes were distributed to them. Village names and village populations were recorded. A village headman (toumu) was assigned and paid a monthly salary for his responsibilities to the Ching government, particularly in curbing the practice of head-hunting. Compliant raw aborigines were allowed to trade with the Chinese, but guns and bullets were not allowed to be sold to them. They were to be provided with medicines, seeds and tools, and taught about planting and 'good behaviour'.

In fact, most compliant raw aborigines violated their oral commitment to comply with the Ching on frequent occasions. In 1877, the Ami in Kiwit killed a Chinese tungsh and, in co-ordination with another Ami village Makuta'ay, fought against the Ching troops who were opening up a road across the coastal mountains from Rweiswei to the coast. They were defeated by Ching reinforcements sent from Taipei and Tainan. In 1878, a Chinese cultivator and a Ching soldier were killed by the sinicized cooked aborigines in the northern Ami area. The sinicized aboriginal village Kaliwan then joined with an Ami village, Juwowan, to fight against the Ching, but were defeated by additional Ching troops sent from Taipei.

Under the Ching rule, the Chinese army was stationed at strategic sites along the roads of eastern Taiwan. A bureau of colonisation was installed by the government in 1875 to encourage Chinese migration and cultivation in eastern Taiwan. It was terminated five years later as the cost of subsidies was great and the results were unsatisfactory. Four community schools were established in Ami areas to teach them

reading, writing and speaking in Chinese in 1880 but after five years the efforts proved to be ineffective. In 1884, Taiwan became a province of the Ching empire. The first governor, Liu Ming-chuan, commented that the work undertaken to subjugate the aborigines over the past ten years had been a failure—the aborigines were still hostile to Chinese cultivators. Three offices were subsequently established in Hwalyan, Yuli and Taidung to deal, particularly, with aboriginal matters in order to execute the Ching's policies in eastern Taiwan. An order to wear pigtails was stringently upheld, and persons who complied with this would be rewarded with two units of silver coin annually. Village heads were paid a salary monthly and given clothes twice a year. These measures lasted for nine years and were abrogated because of the diminution of the government budget. On the other hand, the Ching local commanders were requested to renew the work of taming the raw aborigines. Military might was employed to force aborigines to comply. In 1887, a Chinese commander (Jang Jau-lyan) moved his troops to force aborigines to surrender and have their hair cut. It was recorded that 218 aboriginal villages in eastern Taiwan, a population of approximately 50,000, agreed to comply with this order.

However, aboriginal resistance to Ching's rule continued. In 1888, the sinicized aborigines of Dajwang with the Puyuma village Rokavon attacked the garrison stations at Rweiswei and Taidung. The attack was backed up by other sinicized aborigines, as well as Puyuma and Ami villages. The revolt lasted for three months and was finally pacified by military fleets sent from northern China. Furthermore, head-hunting was still carried on among different aboriginal groups during Ching rule.

Although the influence of Ching rule did not bring a significant change in Ami social life, its policy in terms of developing eastern Taiwan did change the distribution of ethnic groups. According to a census by the Japanese government in 1896, the total population in eastern Taiwan was 36,194; of which 60% were Ami, 17% Puyuma, 13% sinicized aborigines from the west or the north-east part of Taiwan and 9% Chinese. The total number of settlements was 150, of which 23 were Chinese, 70 or

so were aboriginal and the rest were sinicized aborigines who had migrated from other parts of Taiwan.

5.2 Japanese rule

Like other Ami villages along the east coast of Taiwan, Iwan was founded between 1860 and 1880. The following reasons for this migration were given by T. Mabuchi (1935:531-2): 1) Other head-hunting peoples (such as the Bunon and the Atayal) inhabited the central mountains to the west. Their threats were the principal reason for the Ami's southward movement. 2) Warfare among the Ami in the northern and central region destroyed many villages. The defeated fled away from their original settlements and moved southward. 3) Some Ami moved southward to seek virgin soil simply for a better livelihood.

Iwan was founded around 1865 on the top of a hill and a protective fence was constructed. Obviously, the influence of the Ching court did not reach this area effectively and the fear of head-hunting from other aboriginal groups still existed; indeed this uncertain situation continued in the locality until the Japanese government established control of the region. Since then, radical socio-cultural change has been initiated by politico-economic forces outside the village.

The Japanese colonial government began its rule in Taiwan in 1895. Their army arrived at Taidung on 25th May, 1896. They defeated the remaining Chinese soldiers within a week. They then set up police stations in eastern Taiwan, one of which was established in 1900 in Syawgang, about 6-7 kilometres to the south of Iwan. One of the major achievements of this police station was that the local Ami began to move from the top of a hill to the nearby plains beside the sea in 1908. This implies that not only had the Ami surrendered to the Japanese but also that peace was established under Japanese rule. This peace was finally consolidated when the government successfully confiscated, although with some cash compensation, guns

from the Ami of the Taidung sub-prefecture in 1911 and of the Hwalyan sub-prefecture in 1912.

Three reasons explain the Ami's surrender to the Japanese. Firstly, from the 17th century, the Ami had had experience of dealing with outsider governments. Each village as an independent political unit had resisted the pressure from colonial governments from time to time. Even in 1908, the Ami of Chenggung fought against the Japanese for a few weeks. Eventually, however, their military resistance was overcome and this can be accounted for not only because they possessed less advanced weapons, but also because their social organisation prevented them from easily mobilising fighting men beyond the level of village unit. Iwan village was not directly involved in any movement against outsider governments. However, the Iwan villagers knew of many examples of Ami resistance in other villages being ruthlessly crushed by these foreign governments.

Secondly, in order to tame the raw aborigines, colonial governors used several strategies. In 1877, a Ching commander asked a Chinese interpreter to accompany some Ami village heads on a tour of the cities of western Taiwan and China to change the Ami's attitude towards their colonisers. It was recorded that on arrival in the cities the leaders were surprised by the size of the urban populations that enjoyed such a high level of prosperity. They subsequently advised their fellow villagers not to kill Ching soldiers any more as their small Ami population was threatened with extinction if full scale war was declared. This measure was used again when the Japanese were in control of Taiwan. Local village heads were now and then taken on tours in Japan and western Taiwan. It was recorded that in 1911, 1925 and 1929, a total of 71 Ami village heads visited Japan. Obviously this strategy had a profound effect on Ami leaders, who must have been struck by the power and wealth of the colonial rulers.

Finally, in conflicts with other head-hunting peoples before Japanese rule was established, the Ami were in a disadvantaged position. For example, in 1908 according to a survey, the guns held by different aboriginal peoples were as follows:

Table 5-1 Guns held by three aboriginal groups in 1908[5]

people	no. of guns held	population	no. of guns/per hundred persons
Atayal	10,841	29,149	37
Bunon	2,407	15,749	15
Ami	4,607	29,380	16

The Ami were far behind the Atayal in terms of fire-power. Therefore, in the first stage of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, the Ami were allowed to buy guns and bullets to defend themselves against attacks from the Atayal and Bunon. From the Japanese governors' point of view, aborigines living in plains areas (such as the Ami and the Puyuma) were far more compliant than the aborigines living in mountain areas (such as the Atayal and the Bunon). This situation, I would suggest, made the Ami more likely to accept the rule of an outside government in order to live a peaceful life.

The military conquest was followed by policies of integration. The Japanese government took about 15 years to suppress the rebellions of the Chinese people. It also embarked upon a programme of stringent suppression of the aborigines living in mountain areas between 1905-1915.[6] In 1910, the Japanese government turned its attention to the aboriginal peoples and promulgated the Five-year Project for Ruling the Aboriginal People amongst other policies. For the Ami in eastern Taiwan, the influence of the Japanese government came even earlier. In 1903, the Japanese government modified its aboriginal administration from indirect to direct rule through the police. Taiwan was divided into prefectures and sub-prefectures in that year. Eastern Taiwan was first regarded as one prefecture (Taidung) and in 1909 further divided into two sub-prefectures: the Hwalyan sub-prefecture and the Taidung sub-prefecture. The Ami in Iwan and other coastal Ami villages were under the rule of the Taidung sub-prefecture. The head of the sub-prefecture and the staff responsible for administrative

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5 Data from Wen, 1957:761.

6 Fujii (1989:125-133) says that in 1903 the policy of the Japanese government on aborigines was justified by a theory of social Darwinism.

work were all policemen. In other words, the general administration of local government was carried out by the police force who took charge of not only the social order, but also realms such as sanitation, public health, household registration, agricultural development and tax-collection. The police force was so powerful that the autonomy of each Ami village-society was threatened.

A household registration system was introduced in 1916 through the local police station. Later, in 1920, complete household registration data on Iwan was compiled. In addition to this, a land registration system was employed from 1923 to 1927 on the eastern coast of Taiwan. Earlier, in 1895, the Japanese government had issued a regulation, in which all untitled lands became the property of the government. Then, in 1905, the government issued another law which prescribed land registration as a prime requirement for official recognition of private land ownership and legal transfer of land ownership. These laws were not taken seriously in eastern Taiwan until 1915. It was recorded that an earlier attempt to register land failed because of resistance from local people. However, after a period of time, the Ami came to cooperate with government and all the land cultivated by them was allowed to be registered as privately owned. Thus tax had to be paid to the government in respect of all land used either for cultivation or residence.[7]

Through the management of the police station, the Ami were heavily employed with construction work from the initial stage of the Japanese occupation of Taiwan. The Ami were summoned on a compulsory and regular basis, and worked either without payment on certain public works or with only half ordinary pay for private enterprises run by the Japanese. After the establishment of the household registration system it was easier for the police to summon people for this labour service, and this system persisted until the end of Japanese rule.

Under the pressure of the Japanese army and policemen, various policies were put into force which caused radical change to some features of Ami socio-cultural organisation. For example, a primary school and a health clinic were set up by the

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[7] The Ami began to pay tax in 1911.

government in 1917 (in Iwan) and in 1926 (in Chenggung), respectively. They offered both education and health facilities to the local people. The government also persuaded the Ami to plant wet rice, and three irrigation systems were created by the Ami with the help of Japanese technicians between 1926 and 1931. Furthermore, a road along the east coast was built and widened in 1917, 1925 and 1932. This meant that in 1940 Iwan could be reached by bus from Chenggung or Taidung. This not only broadened the Ami's knowledge of the outside world, but also allowed goods and people to pass freely between the outside world and Iwan. In other words, various policies were introduced which were justified by the idea that these might improve the socio-economic conditions of the aborigines. The Japanese assigned a village head to replace the traditional one in 1925, a clear indicator of the increasing influence from the outside government. Japanese influence was felt not only in their secular life[8] but also in their religious life.

In the last ten years of Japanese rule, the government proposed a Japanisation campaign. This campaign was strengthened during 1941-1945 when the Japanese were involved in World War Two.[9] In this campaign, both Taiwanese and aborigines were encouraged to speak Japanese at home and adopt Japanese names. Many Ami customs were abolished as they were regarded as harmful. Chinese religion and western Christianity were forbidden in aboriginal areas. In fact, Japanese religion was advocated to such an extent that the villagers in Iwan were ordered to attend worship at a Japanese shrine which was set up by the government on the outskirts of the village. Each household was given a tablet on which the name of the Japanese supreme god was written. It seems that these were attempts by the Japanese colonisers to make "their power visible" and to seek to "order 'others'" (cf. Kelly and Kaplan, 1990:134).

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8 The Ami for instance were not allowed to make their own wine after 1936 and cigarettes after 1941 due to control established by state monopolies.

9 During World War Two, aboriginal young men were encouraged to organise military units to fight with the Japanese against the Americans. Ami men were conscripted into the Japanese army between 1941 and 1942.

It is obvious that under Japanese rule, Iwan as a settlement could not act as an independent political unit any more. All formal political activities at the village level were controlled by the Japanese. The various measures imposed upon the Ami under Japanese rule resulted in an uprooting of the Ami's traditional way of life. However, direct contact between the Ami and wider society was still limited because free migration was not permitted due to the taboo on migration. The village, therefore, was still the major social world for most of the inhabitants.

5.3 Chinese Nationalism

After World War Two, the Chinese Nationalist government[10] took over Taiwan from the Japanese. They introduced a new politico-administrative system. In general, the Chinese government followed the Japanese demarcation of the aboriginal areas in the central mountains, which is administratively divided into thirty townships (syang)[11]. The policies and administrative system of aboriginal areas is different from the ordinary areas. To take one such example, the head of the syang in aboriginal areas should be an aborigine. Most Ami people do not inhabit aboriginal areas but live in ordinary areas; their status in the nation is different from that of mountain aborigines.[12] However, many of the obligations of citizenship, which are prescribed by law, apply as equally to Chinese as to aborigines, including the Ami. For example, Ami children have to spend six years in compulsory education[13]; young Ami men are required to

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10 In terms of the form of Chinese government, I have adopted some of the Chang's (1989) and Y. Huang's (1988) English expressions in this section.

11 Orchid island, off the southern tip of Taiwan, where the Yami people live, is also classified as an aboriginal area. In the new administrative system, a township could be called a syang or a jen depending on its population density. In the aboriginal areas, all the townships are called syang and the population densities usually are very low.

12 For instance, they are obliged to pay tax for their lands, which does not apply to the aborigines living in the aboriginal areas.

13 It has been extended to nine years since 1967.

enter military service at the age of 18; and all Ami above 20 years old are entitled to vote for certain political officers and representatives in the government.

One of the similarities between the Japanese and the Chinese governments is the scheme of household registration. Indeed a system of registration continues today in a form not dissimilar to that established by the Japanese government. Basically, the Japanese government recognised the household as the basic statistical unit. Each household had one member registered as the household head. Other members were registered with reference to their separate relations with the household head. A profile of each member was given and this included the names of parents and spouse, birth date, date of marriage, date of divorce and date of death. One's movements, educational background and occupations were also recorded.

However, there are two major differences between the Japanese and the Chinese registrations. Under the Japanese, aboriginality was registered by household and referred to as fanhu (aboriginal household). Furthermore, the Ami were allowed to keep their own names by using the Japanese pronunciation system, even though the government persuaded the Ami to use Japanese names in the last few years of their rule. In contrast, the identity of aboriginality under the Chinese is recognised on the basis of an individual. In other words, each aborigine is referred to as shan bao (lit. mountain-people). Further for administrative purposes, aborigines are classified into two categories: shan ti shan bao (lit. mountain mountain-people), who live in the aboriginal areas; ping di shan bao (lit. plains mountain-people), who live in ordinary areas.[14] The second difference between these two systems is the use of the personal names in administrative records. Under present Chinese rule, all Taiwanese aborigines are forced to use Chinese names.[15] This order has been applied in Iwan since June 1946 with no exception. Each individual has to choose a Chinese name.

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14 This distinction has a connection with an aborigine's status in the nation, such as voter and tax payer.

15 This shows that there is an imbalanced power relationship between the dominant Chinese and the aborigines. This policy of forcing aborigines to use Chinese names was abandoned recently (1995).

Under the Chinese system, the Taidung sub-prefecture became Taidung County. Shortly after World War Two, it incorporated the local aboriginal settlements into the formal politico-administrative system of the wider Taiwanese society. In this system, the smallest unit is called li or chwun.[16] Consequently, Iwan is not treated as an autonomous administrative unit by the government but as part of the basic administrative unit, the li. Iwan and its nearby Ami village Tomi'ac constitute a local political unit recognised by the government, which is called Boai Li. The post of the head of the li has been instituted by the government, and the holder, who must have been a registered resident of the administrative area of the li for six months, is elected by all citizens aged above 20. Voting takes place every four years. The head of a li has an office where he is assisted by a paid civil servant, the li executive. This clerk qualifies for the post by passing government examinations and is appointed by the jen office. The administrative instructions or programmes handed down from the jen to the li are always undertaken and completed by the li executive who for most of the time stays in the jen office. All decisions concerned with the local people however are to be notified to the li head before being carried out. Apart from these two officials, the General Assembly of the li is composed of all citizens of Iwan and Tomi'ac and is the most important unit at the local level to approve or disapprove of the li head's decisions regarding local issues.

Households in Iwan and Tomi'ac are further divided into several neighbourhood units (lin). The head of a lin is elected by its citizens. In some respects, this position is like an administrative assistant to the li head, because he/she lacks the legal power to do anything for his/her neighbourhood independently but can only reflect the opinions of the lin to the li head, or inform the households in the lin of the decisions and orders of the li head.

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[16] Li and chwun belong to the same administrative level, between township (syang or jen) and neighbourhood unit (lin). When the township is called a syang because of lower population density, the term chwun is used; when the higher level township is a jen, then it is called li.

The higher administrative office to which the Boai Li is directly subordinated is the Chenggung Jen office, which is a local township office functioning as a bridge between the government and the local people through its dealings with the local administration. A township usually contains several li. Chenggung Jen has eight of its own. The township head is elected by its township citizens, whereas other members of the local government are non-elected civil servants employed by the government. The jen office has the responsibility for undertaking programmes transmitted from above. It also carries out the activities prescribed by the law and controls the budget agreed by the jen assembly which is composed of jen representatives voted by jen citizens. The representatives of the township council have the duty and right to check the local township office and act as government counsellors. Above the township, there are the county (syan) government, the provincial (shen) government, and the central government forming an administrative hierarchy. Along with these higher levels of government, there are other equivalent council representatives at each level who act as government councillors where certain quotas are also reserved for aboriginal representatives.

For all of the above, the Ami are entitled to vote, not as Ami, but as aborigines living in ordinary areas. It should be noted here that in the ordinary areas the general administration does not distinguish aborigines from Chinese. Because Iwan is located in an ordinary area, as far as the election of the li head, jen head and syan head are concerned, there is no separation of electorate between the Ami and the Chinese. Therefore, either a Chinese or an aborigine could be elected. By contrast, in the field of representatives in the jen assembly, a quota of aborigines' representatives is instituted according to the number of aboriginal voters.

A policy of special treatment towards aborigines living in ordinary areas was adopted only after 1954 when the provincial assembly pointed out that they had been ignored and should be provided with the same special assistance as aborigines living in aboriginal areas. However, compared with the treatment received by aborigines living in aboriginal areas, it seems, to many Ami, that there is still a great deal that the

government could do for the Ami. For example, in the 1950s, the post of agricultural instructor for the Ami was created by the jen office to teach them about the application of pesticides, new rice types, and other cultivation techniques. This policy was put into force for only a few years. Today there is only one post established in the jen office to deal with aboriginal affairs and it is responsible for the provision of courses to teach cooking, crafts, domestic husbandry and household management. In the jen office, this post is reserved exclusively for a person fluent in the Ami language.

When we consider the historical situation of the Ami we must not neglect the idea of cultural hegemony (Asad, 1991). Having lived under the Chinese Nationalist government since 1945, they have been subjected to a Chinese-oriented education system, to Mandarin as the official language, and to the overwhelming Chinese-dominated mass media. However, the most influential policy of the Chinese government is probably a policy of following religious freedom, whereby evangelisation by various Christian denominations in the aboriginal societies was permitted. This freedom, which did not exist during Japanese rule, provided the Ami with their first contact with Christianity.

5.4 The Ami's images of outsiders

Prior to contact with the Chinese and the Japanese, the Ami's use of the term outsiders referred to other aboriginal groups. Among these aboriginal groups with whom the Ami people have had a historical experience of contact, the Bunon and the Atayal are the most significant, they were their head-hunting enemies. There are many Ami folk stories reflecting these unpleasant experiences. For example, in Iwan a story is told about why a place is called Cioratan: it is named after a man (Orat) who was killed by the Bunon or the Atayal. Other stories mention that Ami ancestors left their homeland and moved to Iwan because they were being attacked by either the Bunon or the Atayal. This inter group tension is even reflected in their creation story. In one

version, for example, the Ami, Bunon and Atayal were all descendants of a common ancestor, but it was the Ami who was born first. Obviously, the Ami people justify their superiority over these other two aboriginal groups by the ranking implied by sibling order. In another less well-known version, the ancestors of these other two peoples were even said to be dogs rather than human beings.

The Ami's images of outsiders changed radically after the arrival of the Chinese and the Japanese. The Ami classify the Chinese into two main categories, namely the Mainlander Chinese (*Kapig* in the Ami language) and the Taiwanese Chinese (*Payrag* in Ami).[17] For these two categories of Chinese, the Ami not only have two different kinds of images, but also treat these two categories of people in different ways.

As outlined above, the Ami have been in contact with the Chinese since the Ching Dynasty and it is likely that the coastal Ami's images of the Chinese were shaped by the initial stages of their encounters. In the Ching Dynasty, almost all of the Chinese from the mainland were soldiers. Therefore, the Ami called this category of Chinese *Kapig*, which, according to many informants (such as Asala and Lifok), is derived from the word for soldiers in the Chinese Fukien dialect. In their memory this category of people ruled Taiwan in the Ching Dynasty. At present, the Ami also call the ruling Chinese Nationalist government a government of Mainlander Chinese. In the Ami's image, the Mainlander Chinese are political dominators.

The Ami call the Taiwanese Chinese *Payrag*, which in the Chinese Fukien dialect sounds like the word denoting bad men. While only a few informants (e.g. Dafak and Holikawa) denied it, most of the villagers (including Asala and Lifok) agreed that their ancestors used the word (*payrag*) to refer to Taiwanese Chinese in order to show their dislike. Some of them further explained that this Ami image could be traced back to the early ages of their contacts. At that time, the Taiwanese Chinese were landlords or merchants who exploited the Ami rapaciously.[18] For the Ami the

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17 Nevertheless, they knew that the Taiwanese Chinese were originally from mainland China and shared common cultural traditions with the mainlander Chinese.

18 Although the Ami distinguish between the Fukien Chinese and the Hakka Chinese, and sometimes classify them into two subgroups. The Ami's images of these two subgroups are quite similar.

Taiwanese Chinese are similar to the Ami in that they both are politically dominated by the Mainlander Chinese[19], but the Taiwanese Chinese are also seen as exploiting the Ami.

The Ami's images of the Japanese, and even of the Chinese, were to some extent shaped by some of the policies of the Japanese government.[20] Under Japanese rule, the government discriminated against Taiwanese Chinese and aborigines. For example, the primary school was reserved exclusively for the Japanese. Taiwanese Chinese could only go to the second class public school and the aborigines to the third class aborigines public school[21]. At the same time, the government set different standards for Japanese and the non-Japanese when people went into higher education beyond primary level. This ethnic hierarchy was also reflected in the job market. As has been already mentioned, most of the important construction works in eastern Taiwan (such as railways, highways, airport and harbours) were done by Ami labourers during Japanese rule. However, almost all the high-ranking managers were Japanese officers, and middle-rank superintendents were Chinese or sometimes Japanese. With regard to payments, in the first few years the Ami got nothing for their compulsory work. No wonder in 1908 that the Ami in Chenggung fought against such injustice. After the Ami were defeated, a negotiated settlement over payments was reached, even though the wages for the Ami were only 50% of the wages paid in the labour market in Taiwan at that time (Suenari,1983:31).

After military defeat and political subjugation, the Ami people had to deal with the colonisers. Among the Ami, the Japanese and Taiwanese Chinese were the most important and to both of these peoples the Ami felt a sense of subordination. In my

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19 After the Ching court gave Taiwan to Japan in 1895, almost all Mainlander Chinese went back to China. Therefore, in the view of the Ami people, only Taiwanese Chinese and aboriginal people were dominated by the Japanese when they were in control of Taiwan.

20 The influence of the Japanese government was so deep among the Ami that even today they use the word *dipog* (Ami pronunciation for Japan) to refer to the government. Their custom of calling an officer *tapag* (originally a reference to a village head, see section 2.8) began under Japanese rule.

21 It was only in the last ten years of their rule that the Japanese removed this discrimination to encourage the Japanisation movement.

opinion, this subordination came not only from the Ami's military failures and the imbalance of colonial power relations, but also the differences, in terms of living standards, between the relatively rich colonialists and themselves became apparent to the Ami.

I outlined in Part One the two main themes underlying the Ami's rituals in the past. Rituals were devoted to the promotion of health, long life and happiness, as well as to the abundance of subsistence food supplies. In fact, many elderly Ami (such as Asala and Holikawa) are grateful to the Japanese and Chinese, because these two peoples brought them a better standard of living. For example, the total population of the Ami increased from 37,148 in 1920 to 53,266 in 1940. The death rate per thousand among children under seven decreased from 51.7 in 1925 to 34.3 in 1929. These improvements could be attributed to the Japanese government's efforts to improve the sanitation of the villages, and to improve medical treatment for illness and to eliminate malaria epidemics. For example, beds and sleeping platforms were raised[22], the traditional custom of burying the dead in one's own backyard was forbidden, and a public graveyard was built near the village. In addition, under the instruction of the Japanese, the Ami shifted from millet planting to wet rice planting.[23] It was estimated by Asala that the amount of produce increased three times because of this change. Furthermore, products from the outside world, imported by Chinese traders, improved the Ami's economic life significantly, despite Chinese exploitation. This experience of subordination is expressed nicely in a folk story, which I have called: The Story of the Lost Ami Writing.[24] In general, this kind of story is narrated in the following pattern.

> The Ami and the Chinese have a common ancestor. A long time ago, the ancestors of these two peoples lived on a southern island and each group had their own writing system. One day, they planned to move to Taiwan together. In order to preserve their own traditional way of writing, the ancestors of the

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22 The Japanese thought that raising beds would improve health.

23 In certain Ami villages, such as Kiwit, the Ami learnt wet rice planting from the Chinese rather than the Japanese.

24 This title is given by me. Usually the Ami do not give titles to their stories

> Chinese carved their script onto a wooden board. The ancestors of the Ami carved their script on a stone tablet to avoid the decay of a wooden one. Unfortunately, a typhoon destroyed their ship. After the storm, the ancestors of the Chinese sought their wooden board on the surface of the ocean and succeeded in finding it. The ancestors of the Ami did the same thing, but they failed, because their stone tablet had sunk to the bottom of the ocean. After this, the Chinese still possessed their way of writing, but the Ami had lost their own way of writing for ever. [25]

In another version of this story, the Japanese were included. In this case, the Japanese are also descendants of the same ancestor. When the ancestors of the Japanese prepared to leave, they carved their writing onto a bamboo board. As a result of this, the Japanese preserved their writing after the storm, since the bamboo board floated on the ocean just as the wooden board did.

Another story shows the same theme in a slightly different way. A long time ago, the Ami, the Japanese and the Chinese had a single ancestor. When the immediate ancestor of the Ami was born, he was naked without anything on his body. When the ancestor of the Chinese was born, he was wearing a pair of straw sandals on his feet. When the ancestor of the Japanese was born, he was wearing a pair of cloth shoes on his feet. This is why the culture of the Japanese was more advanced than the Chinese, the Chinese more advanced than the Ami.

This kind of story reveals how self-conscious the Ami people were and still are. In other words, on the one hand it emphasises the equality between the Ami, the Chinese and the Japanese[26], on the other hand, it explains the Ami's subordination in a metaphorical way. This point of view encouraged the Ami people to learn new things

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25 Story collected and translated by myself.

26 They are all from the same ancestor and the birth order is not emphasised by the orator. However, these stories are usually in line with those stories which indicate that the Ami's ancestors came from certain southern islands rather than another version of Ami's origin stories which opens the creation story with a flood (see section 1.3). In Iwan only a small number of villagers really believe that the Ami, the Chinese and the Japanese are all from the same ancestors.

from outsiders, especially from the Japanese and Chinese because many Ami people viewed these two peoples as being more advanced than themselves.

5.5 Motivations for modernisation

It has been observed by Hirashiki (1968) that the Ami are more eager to learn new things from the Japanese and Chinese than any other Taiwanese aboriginal group.[27] He points out that the adoption of agricultural skills from these two peoples and the high ratio of those attending schools set up by government are two such expressions of this attitude.[28] I agree with him on this point. In fact, during Japanese rule, aboriginal public schools, which provided four-year elementary education, were widely established in the aboriginal areas. The ratio of school attendance was estimated at 55.9% among Ami children in 1939. It was higher than any other aboriginal group. If an aboriginal child intended to pursue higher education, he/she had to attend an ordinary primary school for the Chinese or Japanese which provided a normal six-year education. Only then was he/she qualified to sit an examination for middle schools. Many figures show that more Ami than any other aboriginal group went to a high level school. Furthermore, only graduates of primary schools with honours would be selected to become menials in government offices. Some Ami did in fact pass an entrance examination to a professional school for the police or teaching. An investigation in 1930 shows that there were 13 Ami school teachers, 64 policemen and 86 menials in that year; these figures show that the Ami were among the most submissive among the Taiwanese aborigines.

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27 R. Wilk (1990:80) says that: "Modernization theory may be out of favor in academia, but in Belize, as in most of the third world, it is alive and well as popular ideology". This opinion fits the Ami of Taiwan.

28 In his opinion even the adoption of Christianity is partially the result of this attitude, even though he does not deal with this issue seriously.

Due to their historical experience, the Ami dislike and, to some extent, look down upon other aboriginal peoples, especially the Bunon and the Atayal. Although after 1970 there are several cases of intermarriage between the Ami and other aboriginal groups, there is no sign that the Ami will accept anything which is classified as belonging to the Bunon or the Atayal. On the other hand, if something is labelled as belonging to the Chinese, Japanese (or the whites) then it has a higher possibility of being accepted.

One of the possible reasons for the Ami's eagerness to learn certain cultural forms from the Japanese and Chinese is that they held these two peoples to be more advanced than themselves and they wanted to catch up with the outsider world. However, another motivation might be a common Ami feeling: Don't let the outsiders look down upon us. A case from the Ami village Ligats illustrates this (Chang, 1989:47). In order to teach aborigines business management, the Chinese government in the 1980s helped the Ami to establish a co-operative shop of their own in each aboriginal village that met their qualifications and subsidised each shop with 200,000 N.T.$ (£5,000). In Ligats the shop was established in July 1985, and 102 villagers became its members. Since there were already 9 shops run by the Chinese in the village, this aboriginal co-operative shop did not prosper and was burdened with debts. Therefore, the ethnographer observed that: "the shop seems to me to have less business value than that of just proving that aborigines are able to run business...[*sic*] Some local leaders regard it a disgrace to outsiders and their next generation if it cannot exist " (*ibid.*).

My own experience also confirms this. For example, on the night of November 11th 1992, when I participated in a kin assembly of Ci'okakay for the wedding the next day of a young man of this clan, Asala stood up in the centre and said: "We must behave ourselves like civilised men... Don't forget that the bride is Chinese! Her family and friends will come for the wedding tomorrow..." In fact, this kind of feeling has existed among the Ami at least since the 1940s. At that time a young man, Nikar, insisted upon a virilocal marriage and spread the idea that uxorilocal marriage is a

shameful practice of the Ami people (see section 2.4). In the meantime, many young men followed the government's Japanisation campaign in different ways. For instance, they not only adopted Japanese names but also spoke Japanese at home. One of their famous slogans was: Let's become a modernised Ami. Even now we can find that some of these elite Ami call each other by Japanese names and use the Japanese language for daily communication. During my stay in the village, some villagers liked to talk to me in Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese Chinese though I encouraged them to speak Ami. Asala told me that these people (such as Dafak) just liked to show off their language abilities and used this other language to prove that they were more modern than other villagers.

This kind of comment reminds me that when a person accepts a new thing from outsiders, he/she often have some particular intention in mind. Taking language as an example, I find that all those elite Ami who are enthusiastic in using the Japanese language and Japanese names have a common background: on average, under Japanese rule, they had a longer schooling time than their contemporaries. It is reasonable to expect that other people with a less Japanese oriented educational background would be more reluctant to respond to the Japanisation campaign. In fact, this conservative attitude reflected the Ami's tradition, and functioned as a brake to slow down the modernisation movement. This might be examined from another aspect. Before 1952, the Ami in Iwan could not emigrate freely because of their customs. Any person who moved out from the village was fined a buffalo which was to be shared amongst the members of the age-group organisation. Several men fulfilled this punishment and worked in Chenggung for a timber factory run by the Japanese. A positive term used by the villagers to refer to these people is *misyrkayay*, which means a man (*ay*) of (*mi*) big society (*syrkay*).[29] However, they were condemned by some conventional Ami using the term *maladipogay*, which means a man (*-ay*) becomes (*mala-*) Japanese (*dipog*). This implies that there was a potential conflict between traditional and modern

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29 *Syrkay* is the Ami's pronunciation of society which is borrowed from the Japanese.

notions introduced by outsiders. These kinds of local disputes occurred upon the division of household property.

The dialogue between modernisation and tradition was also expressed by the political factions within the village. In the later 1940s, the village head was Copay, who had been an established leader since 1935. He became the first li head of Boai Li in 1946 following the local election. Following the introduction of the new political system by the Chinese government, many posts in local government were left waiting to be filled. In Iwan three newly emerging factions developed at that time. The leaders of these three factions were then all under 30 and all had a middle school education under Japanese rule. One of the faction leaders, Asala, was born in 1920. The most important feature of his faction was that it promoted learning from the Japanese and Chinese. Asala not only became the second term li head of Boai Li, but he also ran a small business with two Chinese friends. Compared with this first faction, the second faction was more concerned with maintaining its cultural traditions, even though its leader, Lifok[30], who was born in 1921, had studied in a middle school in Tokyo. The third faction was lead by Lofog, who was also born in 1920. His faction functioned as a buffer in village matters, and Lofog subsequently earned the nickname broadcast. These three leaders obviously had their own supporters,[31] but they had their mutual friends and common advisers as well. In order to get the most votes they had to compromise and occasionally cooperate with each other. This background is important in order to understand the adoption of Christianity in the 1950s.

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30 This Lifok is a *faki* (mother's brother) of Kuei-chau Huang (also named Lifok in Ami).

31 Asala's natal clan is the Ci'okakay and he married into the Pacidal clan. Lifok's natal clan is the Cilagasan and he married into the Sadipogan. Lofog's natal clan is the Fakog and he married into the Ci'oporan. Their supporters were mainly from their own, and their wives', clans.

5.6 1945-1950: the years of uncertainty

The Japanese surrendered to the Allies on 14th August 1945. Taiwan was regained by the Chinese government on 25th October of the same year. However, the Chinese Nationalist Party, then the ruling party in China, faced many difficulties both in Taiwan and on the mainland. In Taiwan, the Taiwanese were not satisfied with the Chinese government. A political uprising broke out on 28th February 1947. It is said that many Taiwanese were executed.[32] In mainland China, the Chinese Nationalist government was challenged by the communists in a civil war. The Chinese Communist Party took over China and the Nationalists, led by Chiang Kai-shek, moved their central government to Taipei in 1949. Thus, in terms of nationwide politics, Taiwan was very unstable between 1945 and 1950. Correspondingly, these signs of political instability were also evident at a local level.

In the last few years under Japanese rule, several villagers worked outside Iwan, employed either by the local government or by some private enterprises. Some young men joined the army to fight for the Japanese. Other able-bodied villagers had to work as forced labourers in rotation under Japanese pressure. Almost all these people came back to Iwan after 1945. Consequently, in the following years, until its formal dismantling in 1952, the age-group organisation had over 100 members, and this size had never been achieved before in this village. During these years, the age-group organisation was so active that some nostalgic villagers remembered this period as the golden age of age-group organisation in Iwan.

However, the solidarity of the age-group organisation and of the village did not necessarily benefit from the return of the young. At least seven men with a secondary school educational background came back to Iwan after 1945. Since they had both a longer school education and closer contacts with the Japanese or Chinese than other

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[32] According to the latest study, the total death toll in that incident was 1,024. Unfortunately, I have not yet read the report itself but know only its outline given in newspaper.

villagers, their way of life was different from that of others. The influence of the three faction leaders was even more enormous. They were all under 30 at that time and therefore, according to the village tradition, they could not be elected as village councillors, let alone as the village head. Furthermore, they had to obey the order of *mama no kapah* (the leading youth group) in the activities of the age-group organisation. However, under the new political system, they could be elected as li head or lin head. This was a new arena for these ambitious faction leaders. They not only competed with each other in local elections but also sometimes challenged the traditional way of doing things. For example, Asala was dissatisfied with the leaders of the *mama no kapah* and asked them to give him a receipt if they wanted to collect food from his family. This appeal gained support from many households and achieved the effect of humiliating the *mama no kapah*, because none of the members of *Lakomih* [33] knew how to write properly nor how to make a receipt. Asala also openly challenged Copay, who was the village head and first li head of Boai Li. He told me many times that Copay was a very selfish man. Part of his evidence was that after the Japanese left, Copay claimed ownership of a piece of land with four conspirators. This land was originally opened up by the villagers to set up a primary school; when the school was moved to another place, this land was owned by the village as a whole and under the management of the local government. When the Japanese left, Copay took over the management of this land, then divided it amongst his friends and they registered themselves as the owners. From this viewpoint, both Copay (the village head, and the chairman of the village council) and the age-group organisation (an organisation which could unite the village effectively in the past) were under pressure, even though they were still supported by most villagers.

The conventional way of life also suffered from the harsh challenge of natural disasters. In 1946, a typhoon hit eastern Taiwan and caused serious damage. In the same year, a cholera epidemic occurred in Chenggung Township, particularily in Tomi'ac, the village just next to Iwan. It is recorded that within just two days, on 2nd

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[33] A group in the age-group organisation which was *mama no kapah* at that time.

and 3rd August, 15 people died. Up to the 28th of the month, the total number of deaths reached 66. Later that year, this disease was temporarily put under control by the government medical services, but it occurred again in January 1947. In Tomi'ac, at least 50 people died during this outbreak (Taidung Gazetteer Committee, 1964). Although only 6 died of the disease in Iwan, the memory of this tragedy is still fresh among the villagers.

Partly because of these natural disasters, partly because of the radical increase in the number of Chinese immigrants from western Taiwan into Ami areas after 1945, the economic life of the Ami deteriorated. The most serious problem suffered by the Ami was usury by the Chinese, especially by those who owned shops in Ami villages. Many households in Iwan were threatened with bankruptcy during this period. The situation was so serious that, in 1947, the Taidung County government even used the police to intervene[34].

The period 1945-1950 was one of uncertainty too in the religious life of the village. The importance of the Ami's own *kawas* diminished progressively, and this corresponded with an expansion of their social life. The pre-Christian healer was a good example of this. Since the 1930s, the original group of local healers had been supplemented by three other groups, which drew their potencies of *kawas* from other peoples, such as the Japanese, the Chinese and the Puyuma. While the traditional group could not resolve all the problems faced by villagers, none of any of the new groups could satisfy the needs of villagers completely either. One possibility to explain why the Ami did not join Japanese or Chinese religions can be traced to the Ami's image of outsiders. The Ami saw the Japanese as political dominators. The Ami knew that there were significant differences between the Japanese and themselves. They also knew that the Japanese treated them badly. For most of them, the worship of the Japanese supreme god was an imposition by the colonialists. They neither understood the meaning of the god thoroughly nor accepted it as a replacement for their traditional

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34 The policemen warned the Chinese not to practise usury amongst the Ami and any one who opposed or broke this order would be in trouble.

kawas. No wonder that when the Japanese were defeated, the annual worship in the Japanese shrine of the village was discontinued; only some villagers did it at a household level. In regard to Taiwanese Chinese, the situation was more or less the same and their image as economic exploiters was imprinted in the Ami's mind. Due to close contact with other Taiwanese, the Ami knew some details about Chinese religion.[35] After World War Two, three households began to worship Chinese gods in order to cure their family members. However, the negative image of the Taiwanese Chinese prevented other households from joining this movement; they simply refused to accept the *kawas* of bad man (*Payrag*, the term Ami use to refer to Taiwanese Chinese). In addition to this, an important factor in limiting the wide acceptance of Chinese religion among aborigines is the nature of this religion itself. That is, there is no motivation for the Chinese to preach their religion to other peoples; thus even now for most Ami people the Chinese way of worship is too complicated to follow as it involves using the Chinese lunar calendar, using incense for worship and burning paper money as an offering to the dead and the gods. On the other hand, after World War Two, the Ami expected the Americans to govern Taiwan because in their view Japan was defeated by the United States. To their surprise, the Mainlander Chinese took over Taiwan from the Japanese, and the new government practised a policy of religious freedom. This provided the Ami with a chance to adopt Christianity, the religion of the American victors. In fact, in their initial stage of evangelisation, the Presbyterian mission group defined their god as the god of the Americans (*Amelika a kawas*).

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35 There are many different religions among the Chinese. In Taiwan most people practise a kind of folk religion which is a mixture of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. However, here Chinese religion is mainly used as a native category. In other words it is a term used by the Ami to refer to the religion of the Chinese.

Part Three

Christianity and its Aftermath

Chapter 6

The adoption of Christianity

6.1 Review of past studies of conversion to Christianity

Within a few years, of the end of World War Two, the gospel had reached every aboriginal group. According to statistics, most of the current aboriginal churches were set up between 1945 and 1956 (see Table 6-1, numbers and proportions of converts among the aborigines are shown in Table 6-2).

Conversion to Christianity, among Taiwanese aborigines, has been subject to a variety of interpretations from both social scientists and missionaries. So far as this study is concerned, the discussion will concentrate on those studies which relate directly to the Ami's conversion. The explanations put forward by sociologists and anthropologists, which are relevant to the Ami, are outlined in the following four summaries.

1) The first emphasises the importance of material aids from the mission groups (Yuan,1969; Chang,1989). My fieldwork in Iwan confirms that this factor was important. Just as in many African traditional religions (cf. Peel, 1968b), I suggest that this worldliness is a characteristic of Ami religion. However, it can be argued that studies which utilise this kind of explanation are themselves based on a taken for granted utilitarianism and the importance of food relief is exaggerated. Against this very etic perspective, I will give more importance to the value placed upon the goods, given to the Ami by the churches, by the Ami themselves.

Table 6-1 The establishment of Churches among the aborigines[1]

years	Catholic	Presbyterian	True Jesus church	Total
before 1945	0	60[2]	1	61
1945-1948	14	105	29	148
1949-1952	32	118	34	184
1953-1956	199	61	16	276
1957-1960	30	13	7	50
1961-1964	4	2	4	10
after 1965	0	0	2	2
Total	279	359	93	731

Table 6-2 Number and percentage of Christians among the aborigines[3]

	Number of members		
Church	1960	1965	1970
Catholic church	48546	78877	89149
Presbyterian church	63849	72546	72345
True Jesus church	10101	13061	14168
Other denominations	8542	11470	12249
Total aboriginal Christians	131038	175954	187910
Total aborigines	210701	240294	267169
Percentage of Christian among the aborigines	62%	73%	73%

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1 Modified from: Kuo,1985:16.

2 Almost all of these churches were among the Sediq (see section 6.2).

3 Modified from: Kuo,1985:18.

2) The second kind of explanation is concerned with the extensiveness of local contact with foreign culture. Shih's papers (1976, 1986) are good examples of this type of explanation. His major contribution is to point out an important ethnographic fact: those Ami villages, such as Falagaw, located near a city or a big town tend to be deeply sinicized and have adopted Chinese folk religion. Those villages, such as Vata'an, which are away from the influence of the outside world, tend to keep their traditional religion until the arrival of Christianity. To a degree this kind of study serves to show "distribution patterns of ethnographic traits" (cf. van Binsbergen,1981:17). However, it is "often synthetic rather analytic" (cf. Fernandez, 1978:201) and thus fails to touch some important issues, such as the function and meaning of religion.[4]

3) Kuo's (1985) sociological study mentioned two reasons for the aborigines' conversion. The first one is concerned with their historical experience, i.e. frustration after a series of military defeats by the Japanese and the Chinese. The second one was the matter of the collapse of local institutions under influences from the colonial governments. I agree that these two factors are important and can be seen to form a general background to understanding aboriginal conversion. However, just as Peel (1968b:8) says: "We need motives, not just conditions, to explain purposive behaviour, such as religion." Rather than adopting a universalist approach and trying to study the Taiwanese aborigines as a whole I will concentrate on the analysis of a single aboriginal village and emphasise the manipulation of cultural resources by individuals as they pursue their social goals.

4) The fourth kind of explanation is represented by my own study (S. Huang,1986). By using various types of data, such as ethnographic descriptions which were compiled by Japanese scholars sixty years early, official records from 1918 to 1980, and my

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[4] By chance I once met a lady from Falagaw who told me that the gods/goddesses her fellow villagers worshipped were just Chinese in appearance; but in fact they were Ami in nature. Therefore, whether the Ami in Falagaw have adopted Chinese religion is still in doubt.

own fieldwork data, I have tried to understand the process of conversion in an Ami village, Kiwit. In the first part of this research, pre-Christian society and religion were reconstructed. I subsequently examined influences from the outside world such as the immigration of Han Chinese to eastern Taiwan since the mid-nineteenth century. Chinese immigration precipitated a change among the Ami in Kiwit from a rain-fed millet agriculture to an irrigated-paddy rice agriculture. Later, the Japanese government established a police station and a primary school, and more importantly, after the war the Chinese Nationalist government introduced a policy of religious freedom. The Ami took advantage of this new policy and converted to Christianity. This paper had at least two shortcomings, namely it over-emphasised the socio-economic impact from outside the village and it was based on an outsider's (etic) viewpoint while the native's (emic) viewpoint was neglected.[5]

Compared with anthropological and sociological studies, the studies by missionaries (e.g. Vérineux,1980; Vicedom, 1967; M. Wu,1978) not only mentioned some practical motivations for the aborigines' conversion to Christianity which were of particular interest to the social scientists, but they also gave explanations based on their religion. Because this is an anthropological study, the aspect of theology will not be touched on at all and my study will focus on religion in its social context. In general, the missionaries take a religious approach in their studies and cultural differences among aborigines are ignored. Some of their opinions about the practical motivations for the aborigines' conversion are very illuminating although they appear contradictory at times. I will discuss their contributions and shortcomings in detail later.

Many early anthropologists concerned with religious conversion have emphasised syncretism, and its social and psychological implications. Two typical examples of this are Linton's research on nativistic movements (1943) and Wallace's (1956) study of revitalisation movements, which are based on a form of a structural

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[5] Compared with my previous study(S. Huang, 1986), in this study I have paid far more attention to local voices.

functionalism. According to Peel (1968a), this kind of approach tells us that cultural contact or acculturation causes social and psychological frustration which provide the conditions for the acceptance of a new religion. Therefore the new religion functions as a continuum between tradition and the acculturated. In Peel's view, this approach emphasises the socio-psychological aspects of religious conversion, but fails to help us understand religious conversion itself. We cannot understand "why men of a particular kind interpret their situation in a particular way" (*ibid.*:141).

Later, Horton proposed another kind of hypothesis (1970,1971&1975). He emphasised that there are religious implications to changes in social conditions which make an originally isolated people extend their social relations beyond the limitations of their old social boundaries. Such people are required to equip themselves with a wider world view by means of which they can explain, predict, and control the social order in the new social situation.[6] This intellectual change provides a condition for the acceptance of world religions. In Horton's view, the impact of world religions serves as a catalyst, rather than as the motor, for accelerating religious change. As van Binsbergen suggests, the success of the world religions in Africa was "largely attributable to the fact that they had come at just the right time" (van Binsbergen,1981:29).

Although he gets some ethnographic support from Peel's study (1968b), Horton's intellectualist hypothesis has been criticised for several shortcomings. For example, Skorupski (1976) criticises this approach, stating that it stresses only the cognitive, intellectual, explanatory side of African religion, without paying systematic attention to symbolic representation and ritual. More specifically, Fernandez (1978:222) criticised Horton for being both too intellectual and not intellectual enough. In short, the intellectualist approach tends to convert religious images in religious movements into a problem of the philosophy of science.

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[6] For Horton, African religion is "primarily an instrument with which people try to interpret the world; it is a theory of causation" (van Binsbergen,1981:28).

Another criticism comes from Ifeka-Moller (1974) who proposes a social-structural approach. In her paper, entitled "White Power", she gives several factors to explain Nigerians' conversion to Christianity and the Aladura church. European rule was one of the factors (probably the most important one) that she describes as part of the general conditions of Nigerians' conversion to Christianity. She says that: "people probably believed that the white man's religion would give them some kind of access to the mainspring of his technical power."[7] Furthermore, she also points out that competition among the various denominations and the desire for education[8] led to the rapid spread of Christianity. Burridge's (1969) study on millenarian movements could be seen as another example of this approach. These kind of studies can provide some basic social background to our understand of the process of conversion.

Facing such criticism, more recent studies have focused on religious images. This new approach has "moved from the typological and factors analyses of the 1960s to the more historiographic and microanalytic approaches of the 1970s". It is "a movement away from the attempt to reduce the complexities of this phenomenon with molar scientific approaches to attempts to find their commonalities over space and time and at the primary level of experience"(Fernandez,1978:229). Fernandez believes that this can bring us "closer to the understanding of the actual religious experience of movement"(*ibid.*).[9] One good example is Fernandez's (1982) study of the Bwiti movement.

In this book, Fernandez discusses the Fang people's experience of the process of decentering and the acute sense of peripherality which can be imaginatively negotiated in primary images of body and household, field and forest life.[10] In this

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[7] Fernandez (1982:70) also observes that: "The European, in any case, was first of all the 'knowledgeable one'".

[8] Middleton (1960:3) says that schools set up by missionaries "are the only source of education, which must be acquired by anyone who wishes to enter the new power system of the Europeans." This factor was not so important for the Taiwanese aborigines in their acceptance of Christianity, because school education was provided by the government from 1910.

[9] Therefore, Droogers (1985) calls this approach "African first model".

[10] Basically, Werbner (1985) and Comaroff (1985) follow Fernandez's approach in their studies.

way, local religious experience is highlighted and religious change "becomes a subject in itself, and not just for the role religion plays in social or economic change" (Droogers, 1985:127). In other words, the study of religion can go beyond an explanation from the needs of society or the reduction to a duplicate of the social structure (cf. Crick,1976:6). It is from this starting point that I shall discuss the Ami's conversion to Christianity in this chapter and the next.

6.2 Christianity in Taiwan before 1945

The Dominican Order of the Roman Catholic Church sent missionaries from the Philippines to Taiwan in 1621 (Barrett ed.,1982:236). The four-man team which was led by Father Martinez and landed at Jilung and established the first Catholic church there and, later, in Danshwei. During the Spanish occupation of north Taiwan (1626-1642), twenty-nine missionaries, all Dominican friars, were despatched from Spain to Taiwan to take charge of Dominican missionary work. The converts were so numerous that in 1627 the friars were urged to translate the "Roman Catholic Catechism" and "The Life of Christ" into the Taiwanese language. Their work ended when the Spaniards were expelled from Taiwan by the Dutch in 1642 (M. Wu,1978:31-33).

Spanish Dominicans returned to south Taiwan in 1859, this time led by Father Fernando Sainz and Father Angel Bofurull (Barrett ed.,1982:236; L. Cheng,1971:583). They arrived from the Philippines via Amoy, and set up a base for their mission work in Gausyung. In 1861, a missionary travelled sixty kilometres southward from Gausyung and set up the Immaculate Conception Church at Wanjin in Pingdung County. This church, 45 feet wide, 160 feet long and 25 feet high, is the oldest Catholic church in Taiwan (Kwang Hwa Publishing Company,1986:23). Since then, many Catholic Churches have been built in southeast Taiwan. During the Japanese rule (1895-1945), despite government suppression, the Dominicans struggled to remain in Taiwan. Taiwan had been under the governance of the Fukien Apostolic

Vicariate, but in 1920 it was upgraded to that of an independent apostolic prefecture. In 1930, the Catholic population had increased to 3,000. In 1945, it had 8,000 converts (Barrett ed.,1982: 236).

The Protestants arrived in Taiwan at the same time as the Catholics. In 1627, the first missionary, Reverend Georgius Candidius, was sent to southern Taiwan by the Reformed Churches of Holland. After sixteen months effort, 120 local persons became Christians. Two years later, he was followed by Rev. Robertus Junius and thirty six other missionaries. Some of them stayed only a short period, but others stayed for several years. By 1650, the Dutch reported that 5,900 persons had been baptised in the name of Jesus Christ. However, this mission ended soon after the Chinese took control of the island in 1662 (M. Wu,1978:30-31).

The Presbyterian Church of England broke ground in the south in 1865, pioneered by the Rev. James L. Maxwell; and the Presbyterian Church of Canada started its work in the north in 1872, pioneered by the Rev. George Leslie Mackay (Barrett ed.,1982:236; L. Cheng,1971:583). Both mission groups carried on their evangelisation along side the introduction, by them, of western medicine and Christian education. For example, in 1880, G. L. Mackay established his first mission hospital at Danshwei. In the same year he reported twenty chapels founded in the north of Taiwan. In 1881, he established Oxford College, in Danshwei, to train Christian workers. At the time of his death in 1902, he had established sixty chapels in his territory[11]. In 1912, a new Mackay Hospital was built in Taipei to meet the increasing demand of patients (L. Cheng,1984:31-63; Lay,1984:64-78). The English missionaries did more or less the same things in the south. In 1885, they successfully attracted twenty-nine Chinese workers to join their team. Western medicine played an important role in the adoption of Christianity by the Chinese. A Presbyterian minister (M. Wu,1978:115) has written that:

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11 There was an agreement between English and Canadian missionaries that the former would concentrate their work in southern Taiwan whilst the latter evangelised in northern Taiwan.

> "... their tactics in spreading the Gospel had never left the medical care behind. They preached the Gospel and healed the bodies of people simultaneously. It is no doubt that the [*sic*] medical care is an indispensable means of mission."

During Japanese rule, the Protestant church suffered government suppression. Pastors who were unable to preach in Japanese were forced to resign. A large number of churches, especially those in rural areas, were occupied by soldiers. Any assemblage of Protestants, outside regular Sunday service, had to receive special permission from the police. Despite this, due to the devotion of the western missionaries during the first decade of Japanese occupation, church membership doubled. The first presbytery was organised in the south in 1896, and in the north in 1904. In 1912, both presbyteries united to form one synod for the whole island. "Up till 1950, the Presbyterians were almost the only Protestant denomination in Taiwan" (L. Cheng,1971:583).[12]

The Presbyterian ministers showed interest in evangelising aborigines long before the Catholics who concentrated on converting the Chinese. In 1912, a united conference of missionaries in Taiwan recommended the appointment of one ministerial and one medical missionary to work among the aborigines. Not only western missionaries showed their concern about aborigines, but also the Taiwanese churches felt a sense of responsibility toward them. In 1909, the north Presbytery set up a mission committee to direct the work of evangelisation among these aborigines. However, the Japanese government did not look with favour upon this movement because they feared that the propagation of Christianity might disturb aboriginal social life and incite the aborigines to rebellion (M. Wu,1978:39). Thus even Japanese missionaries were forbidden to preach among the aborigines (L. Cheng,1984:207).

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12 According to W. Huang (1984a:293-94), there were seven other Christian churches in Taiwan before 1945: True Jesus Church, Holiness Church, Japanese Christian Church, Episcopal Church, Methodist Church and the Salvation Army. The first two churches envangelised among the Taiwanese and the remaining four got their believers from the Japanese. Except for the True Jesus Church, which I will discuss in Chapter 7, the rest of the churches have little importance either in Taiwan as a whole or among the Ami.

The Foreign Mission Committee's lack of funds and staff also delayed the spread of Presbyterianism among the aborigines. In the early 1920s, first the Rev. Duncan Ferguson, and then the Rev. James L. Maxwell, appealed for a special mission among the aborigines. They suggested that a start might be made among the more accessible aborigines in eastern Taiwan, since work among them was not completely forbidden by the government. Due to its limited resources, the Committee decided to concentrate on the Chinese who comprised the majority of the total population (M. Wu,1978).

From 1930 onward, especially after 1941 when Japan entered the second world war, the Japanese government exercised greater control over both the aborigines and the Chinese Christians. Christians were seen as potential spies. The Japanese were particularly concerned with the Christians among the aborigines living in the central mountains, because these areas were seen as potential headquarters for enemy guerrilla forces. Wherever bibles and hymn books were found among the aborigines, even if they were in the Japanese language, they were taken away and burned. Some of the Christians were beaten terribly by Japanese policemen (Dickson,1984:365-368; M. Wu,1982). The prospect for Christian evangelism was considered to be very bleak at this time.

6.3 The Ami's early contacts with Christianity

The first Presbyterian church in east Taiwan was set up in the beginning of 1877 in a small coastal village, Shyusan, near Chenggung. The second was set up in the autumn of that year in Takkai, a village in the central part of the Taidung Valley (M. Huang,1991:72). The residents of these two villages were mainly sinicized aborigines.[13]

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[13] Or plains aborigines (ping pu dzu). I suspect that a very high proportion of Taiwanese Christians are descendants of the sinicized aborigines. Furthermore, resistance to the colonialists (Japanese and Chinese) was one of the major reasons for their conversion to Christianity (see section 6.7). However,

Under pressure from the Chinese, some of the sinicized aborigines set off from their homeland to eastern Taiwan in the 1830s (T. Mabuchi,1935). Because some of them had known Presbyterianism in their home lands (e.g.Yilan, Tainan or Pingdung), they brought that religion with them to eastern Taiwan. Some elderly Ami in Iwan still remember the site of a church in Shyusan[14], even though the influence of this church on the coastal Ami villages was limited. With regard to the Takkai church, two Ami households were attracted to it in 1913. The first Ami convert was baptised by the Rev. D. Ferguson on October 12th 1916 and up to January 29th 1921, there were four or five Ami households belonging to the Takkai church[15], from a total number of converts of about 300 belonging to 48 households (M. Huang,1991).

Under Japanese rule, evangelisation among the aborigines was disapproved of by the government. Nevertheless an attempt to convert the Ami was made by the Rev. N. Yates, a devoted Canadian Episcopal missionary. He went to Taiwan in 1930 and spent his last years at Taidung. Before his death in 1938, he had endeavoured to preach among the Ami and the Puyuma. However, little success was achieved (L. Cheng,1984:208).

On the other hand, some individual aborigines had the opportunity to make contact with Christianity. Among them, three persons are worth mentioning here: Chi-oang, and Do-wai of the Atayal and Syu Nan-myan of the Ami.

Chi-oang, who was married to a Taiwanese man, could speak Japanese, Taiwanese Chinese and her mother tongue— Sediq, a dialect of Atayal[16]. Thus she was able to translate, negotiating peace between the Japanese and her people. She was respected not only by her people but also by Japanese officials. Her first contact with Christianity probably occurred through her mother-in-law, who was a Christian. When

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in Taiwan, many descendants of the sinicized aborigines are also very keen to accept Chinese culture and disguise their origins. These two phenomena have not yet been examined fully.

14 This church moved to Chenggung around 1940 (M. Huang,1991:70).

15 It changed its name to the Gwaninshan church in 1893 (*ibid.*:110).

16 According to anthropological studies, Sediq is a subgroup of the Atayal. But, some people, including the Sediq themselves, see the Sediq as a different people.

she stayed with her husband in Janghua, a city in western Taiwan, she had further contact with Christianity. In 1924, at the age of fifty-three, she was baptised in Hwalyan, after her husband had run away with her belongings. She went to Danshwei to study at a Woman's Bible School between 1929 and 1931. After leaving this school, she came back to Hwalyan and preached quietly among her people. Her valuable services as a go-between were remembered by the Japanese who refrained from mistreating her. However, they were determined to stop her Christian preaching. Her movements came under scrutiny and she was secretly escorted from place to place. She continued her work under such harsh conditions. It is said that her services of worship were held secretly at two or three o'clock in the morning so that all the worshippers would be back home and in bed when the Japanese police woke up (Vicedom,1967:18-12; L. Cheng,1984:208; Chian,1984:373-5).

Do-wai was another pioneering Christian leader in Atayal. While serving as an office errand-boy in a police station near Hwalyan, he attended an evangelistic meeting at a Chinese Christian church, and later joined a bible class there. Recognising his abilities, his bible class teacher recommended him to enrol at the Theological College in Danshwei. When his application to leave aboriginal territory was refused by the police, he slipped away with his wife without permission and turned up at Danshwei in 1929. He studied there for two years and was then baptised. He returned to his people as a Christian preacher in 1931. Disregarding a warning from Japanese officials, he went back into the aboriginal areas, visiting relatives and friends, speaking of his faith, and holding secret meetings after midnight. While the aged Chi-oang was working quietly in the region around a small village, Kaliwan, the young Do-wai made extensive trips far into the Central Mountains (Vicedom,1967:22; M. Wu,1978:43-44; Chian,1984:376). At the end of World War Two, there were already about four thousand believers among the Atayal[17], who were waiting to be baptised (M. Wu,1978:47).

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[17] According to Dickson (1984:369), the number of Sediq believers was about two thousand before the end of the war. After the war, this number jumped to four thousand within one year.

Syu Nan-myan was born in Kaliwan of aborigine blood. Whether he was an Ami or a descendant of sinicized aborigines is still unclear. However, it is known that he had a connection with sinicized aborigines and this background provided him with an opportunity to come into contact with Christianity. He married an Ami woman which made it easier for him to evangelise among the Ami. He heard the gospel in Hwalyan, and went to Danshwei to attend a special course. After three years' study, he left college and preached among the Ami people. Since the Ami were living outside the aboriginal areas, he did not meet as much opposition from the Japanese officials as Chi-oang and Do-wai did, although he was under suspicion. His work was centred mainly around the Gwangfu Township where the two biggest Ami villages, Vata'an and Tafalog, were located. After three years, he had only three followers: two blind men and one cripple (Vicedom,1967:24-25; M. Wu,1978:44-45).

It is recorded that at the end of the war, there were fewer than two dozen Christians among the Ami (M. Wu,1978:50), but immediately after the war, there developed a series of evangelistic campaigns. Firstly, the Atayal Christians brought the gospel to the Ami people living near them in Hwalyan. From January 1946 to 1947, several churches were set up in Ami areas which were near Atayal villages. Secondly, with the end of the war a new kind of convert returned to Taiwan. Many young aborigines had been drafted by the Japanese for military service and some of them were sent to Pacific islands. Soon after the surrender of Japan, the surviving aborigine men were sent to American prison camps. They were deeply moved by the good treatment which had been shown them by the military officers and medical doctors of the United States. Some of them not only accepted Jesus as their personal saviour but also brought the gospel to their home villagers when they returned home.

Another religious campaign came from a Taiwanese minister, the Rev. Lwo Syan-chwan. On August 10th 1928, while he was still a student in the Tainan Theological College, he went to Fenglin, an Ami village in the central Taidung Valley. During his stay there, he preached among the Ami many times. Later, on December 11th 1947, he left his teaching job in a middle school in Danshwei and moved to

Taidung to preach to the Ami in the south. He soon learned the Ami language and started his missionary work (S. Lwo,1984:386-401; M. Wu,1978:50-51). Many Ami in Iwan were converted by him after 1948.[18]

6.4 Christianity encounters Iwan

The Taiwanese Presbyterian Church began its evangelisation among the aborigines shortly after 1945. On December 15th 1947 the Rev. Lwo Syan-chwan was formally appointed leader of a mission group for the southern Ami areas. Before he began spreading the gospel northward, he stayed in Taidung for a short period and preached among the Puyuma and the Ami nearby. His mission group came to Iwan every two weeks after 1948 and the number of converts increased significantly. However, before the arrival of Rev. Lwo, there were already six households in Iwan which had adopted Christianity. This section is about the background of these earlier converts.

Paynac is the oldest early Christian in Iwan. When I first visited her on October 3rd 1988, to collect Ami oral literature, she was seventy-nine years old. She was reluctant to talk about Ami pre-Christian belief and custom but was delighted to talk about her adopted religion. Although not all Ami would agree with her reading of

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[18] The growth of the Presbyterian churches among the Taiwanese aborigines has been closely connected to several nation wide conversion compaigns introduced by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan. For example, in 1955, just 10 years after the end of the World War Two, the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan decided to hold the Double the Church Movement to celebrate the centenary of Christian Witness in Taiwan in 1965. During this period, the whole church decided to spread the gospel to every place in Taiwan. As a result, within ten years (1955-1965) the number of congregations had doubled from 233 in 1954 to 466 in 1966 and the number of Christians increased from 59,471 to 102,943. The 398 congregations and 74,475 believers among the aborigines were not included in these statistics. The growth of the aboriginal churches was directly or indirectly promoted by this movement.

events, her information about the early history of the Presbyterian Church in Iwan proved to be very useful. This section is based upon her description.

According to Paynac, she and her family, of Sadipogan clan, accepted Christianity in 1946. She said that the main reason for their conversion was "trying to change our family fortune." She explained: "for many years, every time we rebuilt our house, a member of our family would die soon after. We thought that after becoming Christians we might avoid this bad luck, receive the blessing from the new *kawas* (god) and receive a good fortune." For Paynac and her family, two things made them dissatisfied with Ami traditional healers. Firstly, they doubted the efficacy of the healing rituals conducted by traditional healers. Paynac was one of the survivors of the cholera epidemic in 1946 but her sister, who had been treated by different local healers, died at that time. Because of this Paynac had reached a conclusion that all pre-Christian healers were fakes. Secondly, she complained that local healers demanded some rewards (such as food, wine, tobacco and sometimes money) for their service. She said these payments were a heavy burden for a poor family. Correspondingly, Christianity seemed a better alternative for her.

As mentioned before, in the early days of evangelisation in Taiwan, western medical care was an essential adjunct for the missionaries. When the Rev. Lwo preached in Ami areas, although he was not a medical doctor, he brought a great deal of medicine with him and distributed it freely, persuading the Ami not to believe their traditional healers any more (S. Lwo,1984:395). More importantly, in this early stage, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan paid the salary of the minister and his assistants. All supplies, such as bibles, hymn books and medicine were provided by the General Assembly. Therefore, the Christian followers paid nothing for the minister, either for his prayers or for any material he provided.

The first missionaries were seen as healers because they concentrated on healing the sick. For the missionaries the healing of the body through medicines was distinct from the healing of the soul through prayer but for the Ami these two were combined in a new type of ritual, in which medicines were just another type of ritual object (like

bibles or crosses), which was very successful in healing the sick. Through their successes the missionaries drew the attention of, and gained some influence over the Ami. Their first task was to outlaw traditional healing methods and thereby get rid of rival healers. The Ami were told of Christianity and that traditional healing practices were evil. The introduction of a taboo on visiting traditional healers was effective because the missionaries were having such success curing minor ailments. By isolating the traditional healers the missionaries forced the traditional healers to act. Many traditional healers, such as Saytowan, now without clients, were drawn to the new healers and they were welcomed into the church. After a rudimentary education in Christianity and baptism the local healers were allowed to continue their work but with Christian rituals and with access to the missionaries' medicines.

At the time Paynac and her family were converted, there were already five Ami households which had adopted Christianity, three from Cikatopay clan and two from Fakog clan. Paynac and her family learned about Christianity from these fellow villagers. It is widely agreed that the first person who accepted Christianity in Iwan was Koper, a man married into a household of Cikatopay clan from Kaciday, an Ami village to the south of Chenggung. He had been an elder in Kaciday Presbyterian Church before he moved to Iwan. There is little known about the background to his conversion, but it is said that his family might originally have been sinicized aborigines, who had established contact with Christianity in southwest Taiwan before their migration to the east coast. However, it is certain that all the early followers were convinced of the benefits of becoming Presbyterians by Koper. Furthermore, their acceptance of Christianity was more or less the same as Paynac's, i.e. they wished to have better luck for their households.

These early converts worshipped in each of the believer's houses in turn. Sometimes they went to Chenggung for worship and listened to the preaching of the minister. In April 1949, the first Presbyterian church was set up in the northernmost part of Iwan. It showed that this Church had gained enough support from the villagers to warrant the building of a church, even though its followers were still a minority in

the village. At that time, there were fewer than ten households that had accepted Christianity out of a total of sixty-one households. The pressure from other villagers, especially from relatives, toward the church-goers was severe. Paynac reported that she was under threat of divorce when she decided to be baptised because her husband thought that it was wrong to abandon their tradition.[19] When Holikawa, the younger brother of Paynac, married into a household of Ci'okakay clan, his mother-in-law asked him to give up his belief in Christianity. Holikawa refused to do so and was forced to set up a new household with his wife, who had been supporting him in his devotion to church matters. When a Christian household was in need, their relatives in their clan would very often refuse to meet their obligations; their reason was that the Christians refused to worship their ancestors. In this situation, the early converts were forced to help each other in many areas of social and religious life. The church came to replace the functions of the traditional clan. They created a new term of address calling each other *salikaka*, which means brothers and sisters in the church. These early *salikaka* helped each other in house building, agricultural work and life cycle rites. In the early 1950s, the Presbyterians became the majority in the village. Furthermore, after 1960, when most of the villages converted to Catholicism and the Presbyterians became a minority again, many of the early Presbyterians did not convert to Catholicism and most of their children still keep to their religion. Religion for them is not just a means to seek "immediate material advantage" but also "a vehicle of spiritual salvation" (cf. Burridge, 1969:1). This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 7 and 8.

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[19] At this stage for most of the Ami, like the Lugbara in Africa, Christianity was still regarded as in many ways "antagonistic to the traditional systems of authority" (Middleton, 1960:3). For the Ami this situation changed in the 1950s when local political leaders began to convert.

6.5 Presbyterianism, civilisation and the future

The first Presbyterian church in Iwan physically collapsed in the summer of 1951. Its followers built the second church in October 1951. The change of the church site from the outskirts of the village to the centre symbolised the increasing importance of the Presbyterian church in the village.

Since October 1948, the Rev. Lwo's itinerant mission group had come to Iwan every two weeks. Two Ami ministers, Gayaw and Mayaw, were in the group. They were both born in Vata'an and finished their training course at a bible school in Hwalyan on June 29th 1948. Sometimes, there were some assistant ministers or members of the choir to join them. Occasionally, but importantly, some American ministers would come with them. For the Ami, the presence of the Americans made Presbyterianism look more like a religion of the Americans.

Every time that the mission group came, they stayed for two or three days. During this period, they held a large service in an open field. Singing, dancing, preaching and telling bible stories were included in the programme. It is said that these activities attracted many Ami people, who at that time were living in a small village without radio or television. In addition to the major programme, members of the mission group paid visits to potential converts.

The two basic messages from the mission group were that *Iyes Kristo* (Jesus Christ) was the creator of everything in the world and that he was omnipotent; even the *kawas* of the Ami were created by him. Therefore, *Iyes Kristo* was the master of Ami *kawas* and all human beings.

Like these early Ami converts, many people became Presbyterians simply to seek a better life or to avoid bad fortune. These people, most of them being old, thought that, since the Japanese had gone and the ministers were zealously promoting

the religion of the Americans, they should give it a try.[20] In fact, some of them were happy with the result of prayer and the medicine provided by the ministers. Under this pressure, some of the traditional doctors accepted *Iyes Kristo* as their protector (*salo'afag*) and tried to prolong their careers.

However, for most of the younger generation the attraction of Presbyterianism was different to that of the elderly. Demand for modernisation was much greater among the young men than it was among the elderly. For young men, joining this new church meant catching up with the fashions of civilised societies. For example, they thought they could receive some useful information about the outside world through the church.[21] Furthermore, they expected they could travel around Taiwan and make new friends if they could join the church choir. Some young men even wished to become ministers or elders in the church— all of these positions were created after the arrival of Christianity. Among these young men, the most important person, in this study, was Asala, the leader of one political faction in Iwan.

Asala told me that his interest in the Presbyterian church began in early 1949 (he was baptised in 1953). He justified his conversion as a means to pursue a modern life. However, according to some villagers his intention of using his position in the church to challenge the authority of both Copay who was village head, and the *mama no kapah* (the leader group of the youth in the age-group organisation) was motivated by his desire for personal gain. For example, before he joined the church, the early converts had only abandoned the pre-Christian rituals regarding their household or clan. They still fulfilled their obligations concerning the village as a whole, such as participation in the annual *ilisin* (new year ritual) on the open ground before the *sfi*, which used to be the dormitory for the single young men of the age-group organisation

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[20] Many studies show that the selfless brotherhood (e.g. Fernandez, 1982:320) and general friendliness (e.g. Burridge,1969:71) of the Christian missionaries were significant during the process of conversion. These factors were important too for the Ami, especially when they compared the missionaries' zeal with the colonisers' self-interest (cf. Chu,1981&1982).

[21] As far as I know the Ami have always been very interested in the outside world. This may be linked to an Ami past in which they were part of a maritime trading empire.

and the meeting place for village councillors. Asala mobilised all the Presbyterian Ami as a united group and refused to comply with the orders of both Copay and the *mama no kapah*. In 1952, after being boycotted by the Presbyterian Ami, the age-group organisation collapsed. At the same time, the *sfi* was abandoned. Furthermore, the Presbyterian Ami refused to participate in the Ami's new year ritual *ilisin*. After that, the ritual often took place on the seashore or in the brook-bed.[22]

Soon after Asala's conversion, the Presbyterians became the majority in the village. Many villagers confessed that they had decided to join this church, not of their own volition but because they had to follow the trend.[23] However, there were still many people who refused to join the Presbyterian church. Among these, some cautious elderly people were hesitant because they did not fully understand the new god. Some young men did not want to waste their time listening to preaching or practising in the choir. A special case concerned the Cilagasan clan which was responsible for worshipping the head-hunting god (*Fitolol*). They worried that if they converted to Christianity and abandoned their tradition, *Fitolol* might punish them. Therefore they reached an agreement in a meeting that no one in this clan could enter the Presbyterian church. Another case was Copay, the village head whose authority was under threat. It is said that Copay, and some of his supporters, refused to join the Presbyterian church to avoid being led by Holikawa, Asala and other rebels. This situation persisted until the arrival of the Catholics in 1954.

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22 Except for these two places, no other suitable place was available at that time.

23 Therefore for these converts, rather than saying that conversion was directly a reaction to outside influence (such as economic, religious or political forces) I suggest it was the case that external pressures resulted in social pressures within the village which lead people to convert.

6.6 The appearance of a Catholic majority

Compared with the Presbyterian Church, the Catholic church was less localised in Taiwan before 1945. As a result of this, their evangelisation among the aborigines after the end of World War Two began much later than that of the Presbyterians.

It was in 1954, several years after the communist take over on mainland China that almost all western missionaries were forced to leave, and the Catholic authorities decided to shift their mission workers in China to Taiwan. The Most Rev. André I. Vérineux, accompanied by another Swiss father, came to Hwalyan in 1954 after he was appointed as the deputy bishop of the Hwalyan Diocese, which included Hwalyan and Taidung Counties. Vérineux paid his first visit to Taidung later that year and soon after, several western fathers; who had either been evangelising in China or had come direct from Europe joined this mission team (Vérineux, 1980). The Hwalyan Diocese was then divided into two evangelising areas: Hwalyan County was assigned to the Paris Foreign Mission Society and Taidung County to the Swiss Bethlehem Mission Society.

Father Jorrit de Boer of the Swiss Bethlehem Mission Society set up a Catholic church in Chenggung in 1955. Since he had been in the northeast part of China (Manchuria) for a long time, he could speak fluent Mandarin and some Japanese. This enabled him to communicate with the Ami people without serious difficulty. He trained several local Ami assistants and then travelled around different Ami villages. According to many informants, this Father's strategy was different from that of the Presbyterian mission group. His major targets were important political leaders in the villages, such as li head, lin heads, members of *mama no kapah* and senior *faki* (mother's brother) of each clan. He visited those people in their own houses and this made those leaders feel that the western father did not look down on them. A few months later, the mission group used a house of Cikatopay clan as their base in Iwan and started to introduce Catholicism to the villagers. Illustrations, photographs and

slide shows were used to spread the gospel. Because most of the villagers were familiar with the basic religious concepts of Christianity through the teachings of the earlier Presbyterian missionaries, the newly arrived Catholic mission group did not need to spend time on the basic teachings; rather they emphasised the differences between the two churches, in terms of history, organisation, religious rituals, world-wide number of fellow believers and the attitude of the church toward local culture.

The Ami in Iwan set up their first Catholic church in 1955. This church was on the north bank of Iwan Brook and near the Presbyterian church, just on the opposite side of the brook. Some elderly Ami said that Father Jorrit de Boer chose this site on purpose: as he wanted to compete with the Presbyterian church. Between 1958 and 1959, Catholics became the majority in Iwan. The Catholic authority then set up Iwan Parish in 1959 which was separate and independent from Chenggung Parish. Since then there has been a Father residing in Iwan, who also takes responsibility for eight nearby villages. When a modern western-style Catholic church, which could seat at least 200 persons, was built in 1960 the development of the Catholic majority in Iwan was consolidated.

Mass conversion to Catholicism began in 1957 (see Table 6-3). During this year, there were two cases of conversion which affected the decisions of many others. The first one was the conversion of Copay, who became head of the village in 1935. He was not only an active political leader but also an important pre-Christian healer in the village. During the period of Japanese rule, he was in charge of the Japanese temple because of his village head title. Furthermore, he was the vice-head of a local healer's group (*misaiyanaay*). He died in 1976 and therefore I did not know him personally. However, his influence in the village is so enormous that most villagers still remember him, even though their opinion of him was sometimes very critical. There were different reports about his conversion to Catholicism. One said that he really recognised that Christ was the saviour of mankind. Another said that he just wanted to regain his power through the Catholic church. According to his children, Copay made his first contact with Catholicism in 1955 and was baptised in April

1957[24]. The impact of his conversion on other villagers can still be seen in two important groups in contemporary Iwan: his political supporters and his colleagues in the local healer's group. Many villagers admitted that their conversions were affected by Copay's decision.

Table 6-3

Number of Catholic converts in Iwan between 1955 and 1970[25]

year	number	year	number	year	number	year	number
1955	6	1959	65	1963	25	1967	23
1956	29	1960	27	1964	41	1968	10
1957	110	1961	19	1965	41	1969	24
1958	72	1962	55	1966	37	1970	14

Another major influence on the growth of Catholicism in Iwan was the decision of the Cilagasan clan to enter Catholicism. As mentioned before, this clan was responsible for the worship of the head-hunting god (*Fitolol*) on behalf of the whole village. When the Presbyterian church arrived in the village, this clan forbade its members from entering this church to avoid the punishment from the *Fitolol.* But when the Catholic church set up their church in Iwan, after a long discussion in a kinship gathering, they reached a new decision: all its members would join the Catholic church together, because they thought that adopting Christianity was an inevitable choice for the Ami, and the *kawas* of the Catholics might be more powerful than their own *Fitolol* and the *kawas* of Presbyterianism. The six households of Cilagasan abandoned their worship of *Fitolol* and adopted Catholicism on the same day. Many households, especially those with a connection with Cilagasan clan through marriage, worried that

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24 The church records show that he was baptised on 21/4/1957 and confirmed on 16/10/1958.

25 Data from Iwan Catholic Parish.

Fitolol might take revenge on them also and they converted to Catholicism to seek protection from Jesus Christ.

When I asked the early converts, those who were still alive, why they chose Catholicism, their answers could be classified into two groups. The first group emphasised the attraction of the Catholic rituals. This included the fact that in a Mass the Catholic father wore different kinds of robes, spoke the Latin language which they could not understand, and used many objects (such as holy water, candles and a bell) in rituals. For many Ami, this ambience appeared to be mysterious, solemn, and full of the feeling of communication between man and *kawas*. Some of them further explained that it was more or less like the *magagan* (a ritual performed by traditional healers) in the past.[26] In other words, they valued Catholicism highly in terms of the pomp of its rituals. Some of the Catholics emphasised the potency of Catholicism from another viewpoint, the Catholic church had existed longer than the Presbyterian church, it also had a well-developed church organisation and a better financial foundation. They thus expected the Catholic church would be more powerful than the Presbyterian church. They gave me several reasons that legitimated their view that Catholicism was a more potent religion than Presbyterianism. For example, there was first a Dutch (Father Jorrit de Boer) and then a Swiss father (Father Dominik Steiner) living in the village; this made Catholicism appear more like the religion of the Americans than Presbyterianism, which employed an Ami minister rather than a Westerner. Furthermore, some young men came back from the Second World War confirming that Catholicism was the main religion in the Philippines. This evidence lead many Ami to believe that Catholicism was a world-wide religion and a means of access to a good future.

During the period of mass conversion to Catholicism, not only had those who had not entered the Presbyterian church beforehand chosen Catholicism but also many

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[26] In response to Ifeka-Moller's (1974) criticism, Horton and Peel (1976) reinstate their intellectualist approach. One of their observations is that: "The Europeans came with more elaborare rituals for the supreme being... it was the universality rather than the whiteness that was important." I think to some extent they are right.

people who had been deeply involved in the Presbyterian church converted to Catholicism. Among the latter category of persons, Asala and Lofog, two political leaders in the village, are worth a particular mention. Lofog left the Presbyterian church in 1958 and was baptised into the Catholic church on December 25th 1959. In 1962, Asala left the Presbyterian church and was baptised in the Catholic church on December 25th 1965.[27] Both Lofog and Asala justified their decisions by emphasising the tolerance of Catholicism towards certain Ami pre-Christian social forms. However, some criticised them, especially Asala, as opportunists. According to my informants the Ami in Tomi'ac, Iwan's neighbouring village, accepted Presbyterianism much earlier than the people in Iwan did.[28] Before the evangelisation of Catholicism, Asala's conversion to Presbyterianism meant that he could get support from fellow converts both from Tomi'ac and Iwan. This enabled him to easily beat Copay and became the second term li head of Boai Li administration. But after Catholics became the majority in Iwan, the total number of Catholics became higher than the Presbyterians in Boai Li and Asala decided to convert to Catholicism. [29]

The importance of the Presbyterian church decreased with the development of a Catholic majority. In 1955, the owner of the land on which the Presbyterian church was built, sold the land to some one else. The Presbyterian Ami were forced to find a new site for their church. They first tried to build the church on the open ground of the *sfi* (men's house), which had been abandoned in 1952. This attempt was stopped by other villagers. In October 1955 the Presbyterians built their church in the south end of the village, and the land was offered freely by Holikawa's mother. About the same time, an Ami minister from a southerly Ami village, Kaciday, was assigned by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan to serve the protestants in Iwan. Initially, this assignment led the Ami to doubt the nature of Presbyterianism:

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[27] Asala's major political opponent Copay died in 1968. He had been seriously ill since the early 60s.

[28] The major reason was that a cholera epidemic occurred in Chenggung Township in the late 1940s and Tomi'ac was more seriously hit than Iwan (see section 5.6).

[29] From this point of view, we find not only that followers follow the leader, but that sometimes a successful leader has to go with the crowd.

was it really the religion of the Americans? If so, why was an Ami from another village a minister residing in Iwan? Later, after a personal sex scandal and financial misconduct with the church funds, the Ami minister was discharged. His successor, his brother, was also discharged for similar reasons. For some Catholic Ami, this kind of scandal was used as a reason for their leaving the Presbyterian church, most of the Presbyterian Ami do not like discussing these aspects of the history of their church.

In 1967, one of the afore mentioned ministers came back to Iwan. Having recently converted from Presbyterianism to the Seventh-day Adventist church, he had become a minister of that church. A preaching hall was built in 1971 and seven households became his followers; most of them were converted from the Presbyterian church and only one from the Catholic church. However, this new church did not achieve success. Most of its followers returned to the Catholic or the Presbyterian churches. In 1986, when I first arrived at Iwan for fieldwork, the number of people who went to the Saturday service[30] was between six and eight; they belonged to three different households. When I came back to Iwan for a follow-up study in 1993, this church had been abandoned. I was told that only two households still belonged to the church; one stayed in western Taiwan almost all the time and the other was contemplating a return to the Presbyterian church.

In addition to the Seventh-day Adventist church, there were some other churches attempting to spread their influence into Iwan, such as the True Jesus Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses. Not all these attempts were successful. Compared with other churches, the Catholic church, which was in the majority, was more tolerant of many pre-Christian Ami customs, such as drinking wine during some ceremonies and chewing betel quids. More importantly, in 1961 the Catholic father encouraged the villagers to organise their traditional new year ceremony (*ilisin*), which had been discontinued between 1957 and 1960. Initially, the ritual took place in the playground of the Catholic church. The worship of *Malataw* and *to'as no Saniwan* by the village head was replaced by the worship of Jesus Christ by the Catholic father (Father

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30 In this church congreational worship is on Saturday rather than on Sunday.

Dominik Steiner). After the revival of the *ilisin*, the age-group organisation was reorganised to arrange this once-a-year ceremony. The Catholic father himself joined the age-group organisation and participated in the whole programme. For these reasons many Ami thought that their cultural tradition was respected by the Catholic authorities. However, other villagers who belonged to other churches refused to participate in the new style of *ilisin* because of its strong connection with the Catholic church. In the 1970s, as many young Ami found jobs in western or northern Taiwan, the conflict between the Catholics and Presbyterians softened.[31] Furthermore, the programme of *ilisin* had changed slightly, i.e. the Catholic father said his *ilisin* mass in the Catholic church and the Presbyterian church could do their own ritual if they liked. Consequently the *ilisin* became a ceremony for the whole village again. Nevertheless, there remain some significant differences between the attitudes of Presbyterian and the Catholic Ami toward the *ilisin* and some other social aspects which will be discussed in the next two chapters.

6.7 Pursuit of power and conversion to Christianity

In his study of millenarian movements, Burridge (1969:5) defines religion as "basically concerned with power" and he maintains that millenarian activities are mainly concerned with "the ordering and re-ordering of power" (*ibid.*:143). I do not think that we can call the Ami's conversion to Christianity a millenarian movement. Because it seems to me that the Ami's conversion to Christianity lacks the element of seeking "New Heaven, New Earth" which is essential in a millenarian movement (*ibid.*). Moreover, the Ami political leaders did not act like millenarian prophets. Nevertheless, Ami conversion was surely a process of the re-ordering of power, because the Ami

[31] In the 1950s and 1960s, people who belonged to different churches were not allowed to marry. Usually, households which had different religions but which also had kinship ties would not support or help each other with agricultural work.

took the Christian God as being more powerful than their own traditional *kawas*. In short, the Ami's conversion was a movement towards a more powerful supernatural being to improve their living standard.

It could be argued that relative deprivation[32] was the major reason of the Ami's mass conversion to Christianity. In other words, after long contact with the Japanese and the Chinese, the Ami's life style had shifted from a subsistence economy to a complex economy (cf. Burridge, 1969). The marked economic inequalities between the Ami and the colonisers resulted in the Ami feeling generally dissatisfied with their material life. The attitude of the colonisers towards the Ami also added to the Ami's feelings of unhappiness as the colonisers tended to mistreat and look down on the Ami. Consequently, the Ami lost confidence in their traditional supernatural beings.[33] No wonder then, that when the missionaries arrived, with their selfless brotherhood and general friendliness, many people welcomed them, because these missionaries were introducing the god of Americans (or whites), which was thought very powerful (see sections 6.3-6.6).

Heelas and Haglund-Heelas (1988) have shown the inadequacy of 'deprivation' as a theory of conversion, but I fully agree with them that: "Although deprivation cannot be a complete theory, there are still good reasons for taking it into account in the study of conversion" (*ibid.*:118). In this study I neither see actual deprivation as the direct cause of conversion nor intend to prove that the Ami people actually experienced deprivation or that deprivation caused their conversion. Instead, I stress that relative deprivation was an important factor because Ami political leaders emphasised it.

The relationship between the arrival of American relief and the spread of Christianity is an interesting topic which has been discussed by different people in

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32 See Aberle (1972:528) for his definition of deprivation.

33 Baum (1990:374) provides two principal causes to explain why converts reject traditional religions. Firstly a sense of powerlessness and secondly a sense of existing in a morally fallen state requiring new means of establishing a spiritual balance. I suggest the first one was particularly important for the Ami and it was mainly generated by the colonial conquest and profound changes instituted under Japanese (and Chinese) rule.

different ways. Taiwanese non-Christian Chinese often say that aborigines converted to Christianity simply for the relief (especially food, such as milk-powder and butter) distributed by the churches.[34] Many previous studies reflect this viewpoint. Even the studies by missionaries do not deny the importance of relief in the early days.

The provisions distributed by the churches to converts originated in the United States. In 1945, the Lutheran World Relief and the Church World Service cooperated together to form one agency to collect food, building materials and other objects left from World War Two and give them to overseas countries. The agency sent a chairman to Taiwan in January 1955. Up to May 1962, seven people, from different Christian denominations, took over the chair of this agency. This office was not formally connected with any church, but any missionary could contact the chairman personally (W. Huang,1984b:339-40). Rev. M. Wu (1978:86) of the Presbyterian church described the influence of American relief in this way:

> "Both Presbyterians and Roman Catholics distributed American relief through the church. This impressed the tribal people very much. They learned that the God of Christians is a true and loving God who is really concerned about their fortune...
>
> Sometimes the churches, especially Roman Catholic, would take advantage of this to expand their own influence. If believers did not come to the church, there would be no relief for them. Therefore, if believers knew the day of distribution, they would flock to the churches."

This passage succinctly describes the influence of the American relief and confirms that there was a linkage between relief distribution and the adoption of Christianity. Therefore, the aborigines "would come to the church to worship and to receive relief too" (M. Wu,1978:86). However, the Ami have a particular attitude towards relief goods which I will now discuss.

According to many informants, relief goods included wheat flour, used clothes, butter and milk powder. I was told by several people that their family became

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[34] Some Chinese even called the aboriginal church a milk-powder church (cf. Collignon,1981:360).

Christians because they liked to receive relief from the churches. I neither deny the importance of the relief factor nor ignore the fact that some Ami people took advantage of this relief. But when I asked questions about how they dealt with the material they got from the church, some of the answers were very surprising. Many people said that they used this material to feed dogs or pigs because they did not know how to use the food ingredients properly. Some even said that they had diarrhoea every time they ate butter, wheat flour or milk powder. Many informants also said that they just cut the used clothes into small pieces and used them as cleaning rags. They explained that, according to the Ami custom, clothes belonged to their original owner forever, and only family members could give each other used clothes as a gift. In other words, it was taboo to wear used clothes when the previous owner was unknown. For them the importance of accepting relief was that it signalled their relationship to the religion of the Americans.[35]

Therefore the significance of American relief itself (especially food) was not as important as many have thought. For example, several households in Iwan adopted Christianity long before the arrival of American relief in 1955. Furthermore, compared with medical care and other aid from the missionaries, food and clothes relief did not seem to be so important for the Ami in Iwan. Therefore, I reiterate that the major motivation for the Ami's conversion was their desire for economic parity with their Chinese neighbours.[36] In this light, food relief seems to be only a minor factor in Ami conversion. For example, an old lady explained to me: "We welcomed relief aid

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35 Burridge (1969:23) observes that: "Access to European goods seems to have been thought to go with the fact of being a Christian. But we cannot without distortion say that Samoans became Christians in order to obtain European goods—though of course it is possible that some did. Many Samoans who wanted European goods did not become Christians." My viewpoint about the economic relief among the Ami is similar to this.

36 In Iwan, the motivation to obtain a better life was somewhat achieved by the Ami through their conversion to Christianity, especially for the Catholic Ami. For example, in 1967, some Catholic nuns came to Iwan and set up a kindergarten. On 11/10/1967, a credit union was organised in the village with the assistance of a Catholic Father. Since then, this union has been working very successfully in helping the Ami to avoid borrowing money from the Chinese.

because we hoped that one day we could be as rich as the Americans." I think that citing economic relief as the only reason for mass conversion among aborigines is unacceptable, because it tends to neglect the native's point of view. Instead, I suggest that relief helped the Ami to confirm their belief that Christianity was the religion of the Americans and could give the Ami a brighter future.

The Rev. Vicedom (1967:35) said that the strongest practical motivation for the aborigines' conversion "is that Christianity helped them in the process of assimilation into Chinese society... Some tribes people became Christian in order to fulfill this desire for assimilation...". I think his idea needs to be clarified. Take the Ami in Iwan for example; many village leaders knew very well that the main religions of the Chinese, not only in Iwan but also in Taiwan as a whole, were a mixture of Chinese folk religion and Buddhism. In fact, most of the Ami did not like the Chinese at the time they converted to Christianity. Although the Ami desired similar economic opportunities to the Chinese, this did not lead them to desire to be assimilated into Chinese religion. On the contrary the Ami saw conversion to Christianity as a means to establish a completely non-Chinese area in Ami life. Vicedom (1967:35) in fact also mentions that a reason for the aborigines' conversion before 1945 was: "...because it [Gospel] helped in their resistance to the Japanese." An excellent example was the Sediq, a sub-group of the Atayal aboriginal group. Vicedom (*ibid.*:6-7) points out that: "The last ones to accept Japanese rule were the Sediq, near the Toroko gorge, and they were the first ones to accept the Gospel." To some extent this reason is applicable to Ami conversion after the end of the war. In Iwan, at least for some of the Ami leaders, they wanted the economic boundaries between the Ami and the Chinese opened but the cultural boundaries closed. The adoption of Christianity was an intentional signal to show that they were different from the Chinese. Clearly this was a paradox in the Ami attitude towards Chinese society.

The Presbyterian Ami often claimed that because the Catholic church provided relief it won more followers than the Presbyterians. In fact, both of these churches distributed relief to their followers. The factor of relief could not therefore be used to

explain the Catholic majority in Iwan.[37] The Rev. M. Wu (1978:86) provided a possible answer to this: "... the Presbyterian church in Taiwan stopped distributing American relief three years earlier than the Roman Catholic. Predictably, half of the members of the Presbyterian church transferred to the Roman Catholic church within just three years". Although I agree with Wu that relief was important I feel that his explanation cannot completely explain the situation in Iwan.

According to W. Huang (1984b:341), the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in Taiwan ordered all its churches and institutions to stop distributing relief from the Taiwan Christian Service on June 7th 1962. This was much later than the arrival of the Catholic majority in Iwan. The mass conversion to Catholicism began in 1957 and by 1960, the Catholic majority was established.[38] Then what was the reason for the appearance of a Catholic majority in Iwan and among the Ami as a whole? The association between the nature of different churches and the nature of the pre-Christian social organisation of each aboriginal group provides a possible solution. Kuo's (1985) study is a good example of this approach.

In this study, Kuo examined four aboriginal groups (Ami, Paiwan, Atayal and Bunon) and three Christian churches (Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and True Jesus Church). He further classified the Ami and the Paiwan together in one category (pre-capitalist class society) and the Atayal and the Bunon in another category (non-class society). Yet, using an 'individualism-totalism[collectivism]' scheme, the three churches could be listed in the following order: True Jesus Church, Presbyterian Church and Catholic Church. Consequently, he suggested that the Ami and the Paiwan

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37 As far as I know the amount and manner of relief distributed by these two churches were basically the same.

38 According to the data in the Chenggung Household Registration Office, the total population in Boai Li (which comprises Iwan and another village Tomi'ac) at the end of 1960 was 1449. Among this number, at least 100 were Chinese. Since the village size of Iwan and Tomi'ac was roughly the same, I estimate the Ami population in Iwan was less than 650 at that time. Up to the end of 1960, the total of Catholic converts in Iwan was 309, and there many other villagers who went to Catholic church but had not been baptised.

were more likely to accept Catholicism and the Bunon and the Atayal were more likely to accept Presbyterianism.[39] Statistical correlations based on sociological surveys show that this argument is to some extent acceptable. However, there are still many Presbyterians both among the Ami and the Paiwan, and also many Catholics among the Atayal and the Bunon. In fact, in Tomi'ac, the Ami village close to the south of Iwan, the majority of the Ami are Presbyterians.

To summarise the discussion so far, for the Ami in Iwan, the Catholic majority could be attributed to two causes. Firstly, the Ami believed that the Catholics were more powerful than the Presbyterians in terms of the form of its rituals, well-developed church organisation and better financial foundation. Secondly, the Catholic father allowed them to keep some of their pre-Christian customs. However it was mainly through the dialogue between political leaders and followers that these two factors affected many other villagers. Furthermore, Catholicism became dominant because the majority of political leaders in the village adopted Catholicism and other villagers followed them. Fernandez (1982:212) points out that "religious movements have been involved with attempts to seize or resist power." For the Ami in Iwan, the adoption of Christianity was a act of Ami resistance to Chinese domination. However, in the meantime, competition between the different Christian churches also provided local leaders with a means to compete with each other. Conflict between churches provided a stage for they playing out of conflict between Ami political leaders[40].

On the basis of this kind of case study, the distribution of different churches in some other Ami villages is easy to understand. For example, in Tomi'ac the majority religion was Presbyterianism; this was because the most important political leader chose

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[39] In Kuo's explanation, a class society, such as the Ami and the Paiwan, is more likely to accept a religion with a hierarchical structure, such as Catholicism. On the other hand, a non-class society, such as the Atayal and the Bunon, is more likely to accept a religion with a democratic nature, such as Presbyterianism and True Jesus Church.

[40] It could be seen as another side of "competition among the various denominations" (cf. Ifeka-Moller,1974).

that church in the early 1950s. On the other hand, in Ta'man, the important leader chose Catholicism and his village came to have a Catholic majority.

Chapter 7

Religion since 1960

7.1 Economic life after 1960

After 1966, industrial production began to exceed agricultural production in Taiwan. Since then, the capitalist market economy has become dominant. The number of agricultural labourers has been declining since the mid 1960s and the total employed in agriculture has decreased from 56.69% of the total employed population in 1956 to 17.03% in 1986 (Executive Yuan, Directorate-General Statistics,1987). In 1969, 62.35% of the sampled aborigine households living in ordinary areas made their living by farming, fishing and hunting, while 35.48% of them had shifted to non-agricultural sectors. In 1986, the percentage of farmers among them was further reduced to 42.32% (Taiwan Provincial Government, Department of Civil Affairs, 1986:21).

Wet rice cultivation was the main crop in Iwan from 1926 until it was abandoned in 1985. Before 1977, both the Japanese and Chinese governments encouraged rice cultivation.[1] For example, the irrigation system itself, fertilisers and pesticides were all introduced by the government. However, the profits from wet rice were limited because the colonial administrations tried to control the supply of rice and provided subsidised rice for their employees. For example, before 1973, farmers in Taiwan had to sell rice to buy fertiliser from the Chinese government. The government also controlled the prices of these two items. It was not until that same year, after continual complaints, that this policy was abolished and a new policy was introduced.

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[1] The information about rice agriculture in Taiwan is based on Chang (1989:40-42).

As a result, the government bought rice from the farmers at a price with a guaranteed profit of 20% over production costs. With this encouragement, rice production and the selling of rice to the government increased rapidly and the sudden over-supply of rice filled up all the government warehouses. In 1977, a new measure to restrict the amount of selling to the government was launched in order to lessen the budget burden on the rice fund. From each hectare of wet-rice a farmer was entitled to sell 970 kilograms of rice at the official price to the government each harvest. More rice thus flowed into the free market which caused the price to drop rapidly after 1977. A new policy to encourage the transfer of wet-rice land to other crops has also been implemented by the government since 1977 in an attempt to reduce the oversupply of rice. Now a subsidy is granted when wet-rice cultivation is replaced by maize, soybean or sorghum which are also bought by the government at guaranteed prices. But the villagers in Iwan were not enthusiastic about this campaign. Nevertheless all these government policies, especially the last one, influenced Iwan society deeply[2].

The crops subsidised by the government did not have better prices in the free market than other crops such as fruit, vegetables. Therefore, recently in western Taiwan many farmers have started to grow vegetables and fruit and have received substantial profits. Some Ami in Iwan tried to grow papayas, oranges and plums for cash a few years ago, but the distance from eastern Taiwan to large central urban markets prevented the possibility of further development. To date, no household in Iwan depends entirely upon agriculture for its living.

In fact most farmers in Taiwan nowadays earn their living from their own farms and from casual work or part-time jobs of various types. The percentage of part-time agricultural households among the total agricultural households of Taiwan increased from 52.4% in 1960 to 82.3% in 1975, and a similar shift has occurred in aboriginal society. Agricultural income of aboriginal households living in ordinary areas was

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[2] In Taidung County I was told by a government official that each hectare of paddy field can be granted 48,000 NT$ (£1,200) each year if the farmer promises not to grow rice. Many villagers leave their land uncultivated for this reason.

estimated as 52.67% of their total income in 1969, 43.43% in 1974, 28.96% in 1978 and 16.89% in 1986 (Taiwan Provincial Government, Department of Civil Affairs, 1986: 57).

Most villagers grow, for their own daily consumption, vegetables, fruits and areca nuts in the gardens around their houses or on convenient[3] plots of their farm field. Poultry and livestock farming are not popular but can occasionally be found. It is still customary for the villagers to collect wild vegetables in the hills for their daily diet, but they have to buy foodstuff regularly to meet their needs. Rice is still their main staple food but not a single household grows it. In other words, they have to buy rice grown outside the village.[4]

Before the mid 1960s only a few people found jobs outside the village. However, the increasing industrialisation of Taiwan since then has provided the villagers with varied working possibilities outside the village. In 1968, an oceanic fishing company, which was based in Gausyung harbour, sought fishermen among the coastal Ami villages. It was the first time that a large number of the villagers went to western Taiwan for wage earning together. More and more aborigines started to look for work, and sources of cash outside their villages, in the western or northern regions of Taiwan.[5] From the data in the household registration office in Chenggung, the number of emigrants has increased since 1976.[6]

At present, many villagers work and live outside the village while still maintaining a close connection with the village. Marriages, funerals, house-warming parties and especially the new year ceremony (*ilisin*) provided occasions for me to meet Iwan emigrants who stay most of the time outside the village. Most of the young

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3 In terms of transportation and water supply.

4 As a whole, the labour of Taiwanese aboriginal people had entered the market and had become commoditised by the 1960s and 1970s (Y. Huang, 1976, 1982, 1988; Chu, 1983).

5 Since April 1993, more than a hundred households originally from Iwan have lived in urban areas. Among them, 12 in Gausyung, 15 in Janhua, 11 in Taipei and 20 in Tawyuan.

6 Household registration determines the place of voting and schooling. Many Ami emigrants however retain their registration in their home villages.

generation live in the village until they finish their compulsory secondary school education[7]. Then they will be recommended by their relatives or acquaintances to factories or businesses in western or northern Taiwan for wage-earning jobs.

While the young people are away, they frequently meet marriage partners from other Ami villages or even non-Ami people.[8] Marriages of the young generation are always held in the village. Most young couples however do not stay at home after the marriage, they usually soon go back to their working places in the urban areas.

Thus, it is difficult to give a precise figure of the village's population or even a household population. Very often the young will come back to the village if they temporarily lose their jobs. But for the sake of earning cash, it is inevitable that they leave the village in order to get a job which is more easily found in an urban location.

An important connection between the emigrants and their home village is found in the Iwan Credit Union[9]. This credit union was set up in July 1966 under the sponsorship of the Swiss Father Dominik Steiner (known as Ontok in Ami). At first only eight villagers joined but its membership increased until on October 11th 1967, a formal credit union was established with 72 members and since then, there has been a chairman, a treasurer, and four committees.

One of the many functions of the credit union is encouraging the villagers to save money in good times and to borrow a lump sum from the union when a large amount of money is needed[10]. A member can lodge his spare money either in the treasurer's house at any time or in the union office on Sunday morning after mass[11]. The treasurer only keeps a certain amount of cash at home in case of the need for an

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7 About fifteen years old.

8 So far as I know, after 1950 six villagers married Atayal aborigines, two married Paiwan aborigines, four married Bunon aborigines, one married a Yami aborigine and twenty nine married Chinese. Among the reasons for the large number of marriages to Chinese is not only the Chinese majority in Taiwan but also the Ami's attitude towards outsiders. See Chapter 8 for more information.

9 Chusyu huju shé in Chinese, meaning saving (chusyu) mutual aid (huju) society (shé).

10 According to the latest regulations, the amount of borrowing can not exceed twice that of a member's savings.

11 There is an office of the Iwan Credit Union near the Catholic church.

emergency loan for a member[12] and deposits most of the money in banks or post offices to earn interest. When a member applies for a loan, he has to fill in an application form and have it signed by the loan committee, which comprises three full members who are elected by all the members at the Annual General Meeting. A plan of repayment has to be decided before the application is approved. The amount of interest on a loan is normally proposed by the executive committee and decided by the members at the AGM. The interest received from the banks and from the loans to members becomes the income of the credit union. After deducting the outgoings on items such as stationery, salary for the treasurer[13], and the money for food and drink provided at union meetings, all the surplus is allocated to the members, according to the amount of their savings. In 1991, the annual bonus for the members was 6%, roughly the same as that obtained from a current account at the post office.

At the end of 1992, there were 284 members in Iwan Credit Union. The total amount of savings was 15,597,181 NT$ (£389,925) and 13,987,338NT$ (£349,683) was lent out to its members. From the annual audit of the Credit Union League of Taiwan, the financial situation of Iwan Credit Union is very good. Almost all Ami households have at least one member belonging to the local credit union. Because the nearest bank is in Chenggung, many people see the credit union as their bank and the place to save their spare money. Many villagers who left the village a long time ago still keep their accounts open. Normally they deposit or borrow money through their relatives who live in Iwan. The main reason for them doing so is the convenience of borrowing money from the credit union in their home village rather than from a bank in the cities, which usually require property as collateral against a loan and take longer to

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12 The latest regulation states that this money should not exceed 5,000 NT$ for each member. And should be returned within six months.

13 137,800 NT$ in 1993. Therefore, this is a key position in the union. For most of the members it is even more important than the chairman. This position has been held by Asala (a village leader, see Chapter 5 & 6) since December 6th 1972 (Iwan Credit Union, 1992). I know some villagers such as Dafak and Holikawa who do not want to join in the Iwan credit union simply because they do not like Asala.

process applications. Furthermore, in the case of someone facing difficulties in repaying the loan to the credit union, which is run by their fellow villagers, a reasonable delay can be tolerated.

Both in Taiwan as a whole and in Iwan itself, the credit union was first introduced by the Roman Catholic Church. For example, in 1963 the Taiwanese League of this organisation was organised by an archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Taiwan (B. Huang,1985:52). In Iwan, the 72 original members of the credit union were all Catholics, from Iwan and its nearby Ami villages, such as Tomi'ac and Shyusan. Later, after the Presbyterian Church joined the league in 1967 (*ibid.*:54), the Taiwanese credit union became more and more community-based rather than church-based. After Tomi'ac opened its own credit union, mainly organised by the Presbyterians, those Catholics from outside Iwan who had accounts with the Iwan Credit Union shifted their shares to their own villages. Nowadays, Iwan Credit Union is an organisation which both Presbyterians and Catholics join although all important positions, such as chairman, treasurer, and members of various committees are held by the Catholics because of the Catholic majority in the village.

The credit union not only protects the Ami from the usury of the Chinese[14] but also reflects the improvement of their economic life. Data from the Iwan Credit Union shows that before 1980 loans were mainly used for medical costs, education fees and agricultural investments. But after that year, loans were mainly used for investments outside the village, such as buying a house in an urban area, buying a truck or machines for business.[15] The credit union thus provides the Ami with a means to adjust to the market economy.

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14 They do not allow the Chinese, including those living in the village, to join in the union.

15 At least eleven households from Iwan own their houses in urban areas. Three other people from the village, who work as drivers, have their own trucks and six people from Iwan run small factories either in Taipei or in Tawyuan.

7.2 The indigenisation campaign of the Roman Catholic Church

From the beginning of the adoption of Catholicism up to the 1970s, the Roman Catholic father used Latin in the mass and the lay believers had Chinese or occasionally Ami passages in their litany. The hymns were mainly in Chinese; only a few of them were in Ami language. The bible and other books used in the church were either in Japanese or in Chinese; of which only a few old people could read the former and only some young men could read the latter.

In the 1970s, the Roman Catholic Church began its indigenisation campaign. All the prayers, holy scripts and hymns were translated into Romanised Ami text. The target of the Church was one day to hold the mass in the Ami language. The translation work was done by the foreign fathers and their Ami assistants from both Hwalyan and Taidung Counties. Their principle was to avoid using Ami words which refer to pre-Christian supernatural beings in order not to confuse the Ami converts. They kept about 20 hymns which they had used before and adopted many Ami popular songs to replace European, Japanese, or Chinese melodies. However, they avoided using any Ami songs which were used in pre-Christian religious contexts, such as in the new year ritual (*ilisin*) or in the rituals of the pre-Christian healers.

The reactions from the congregation to this campaign were mixed. Many people, especially the elderly, welcomed this development. Before the holy scripts and hymns were translated into Ami language, they had to memorise passages, in either Latin or Chinese, (neither of which they understood). After the Ami translations were available, the local people could understand the meaning of each passage and they could recite the passages more easily than before. Now many Ami who cannot write Japanese or Chinese properly, use Romanised script to write letters to each other. They all attribute this to the Church's indigenisation campaign.

However, not everybody welcomed this campaign. Many of those people who opposed it were old and had an extensive knowledge of the Ami language and their

customs. They complained that the Ami translation of holy scripts and hymns were inadequate and lacked a sense of beauty. In their opinion, the vocabularies used in ritual should be totally different from daily language, just as in the case of the religious prayers of the Ami in the past. They also criticised the choice of Ami assistants involved in the translation work on the grounds that they were too young[16] and were therefore incompetent to do this work. The adaptation of Ami popular songs into hymns also drew their criticism. In the opinion of the Ami elders, the songs which were sung in the church should be free from secular influence. But after the hymn book adopted many melodies which were also heard at ordinary party celebrations, they claimed that the sense of spirituality of a Catholic ritual no longer existed. Some men also worried that if the Ami used the Romanised alphabet in the church it might retard the younger generation's willingness to learn Mandarin, which many Ami thought was important if they were to find a good job and catch up with Chinese living standards. Most importantly, many people worried about the implications of this movement. They thought that if they used an Ami word *wama* (lit. father) to call on god, then the god they contacted would be an Ami *kawas* (supernatural being) and not the god of westerners. Despite these objections, the indigenisation campaign went ahead.

Now almost all the younger generation between the ages of 16 and 50 find a job outside the village. Only the older generation and the minors live in the village. Nowadays, no one in the village complains about the use of Ami holy scripts and hymns openly, although there are still some people who cannot read the Romanised letters.

In terms of purely religious activities the Presbyterians seem to be far more active then the Catholics. For most of Catholics, the practice of Catholicism is part of their way of life and they do not bother to ask themselves about the details of it.[17] For example, many Catholics do not know what the holy trinity is, let alone what it means.

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16 Their average ages were about 40.

17 Peel (1968b:295) observes that: "The peculiar character of its this-worldliness lies at the centre of Aladura Christianity." This observation could also be used to describe the Catholic Ami.

When I enquired about this, some even asked me how many *kawas* in the trinity? One or three? For most of the Catholics, they do not see Catholicism as a monotheistic religion. The virgin Mary and other saints are seen as gods/goddesses as well. Furthermore they still see Catholicism as the religion of the whites[18] and obey what the Swiss father (Ontok) tells them to do. So long as a church worker, preferably the Swiss father, can conduct the Christian rites for them on certain important occasions, such as weddings and funerals, then they expect nothing more from the church.

However, some people are more curious about the nature of their religion. Often villagers liked to discuss with me the current whereabouts of Ami pre-Christian *kawas*. Were they all exterminated by Jesus Christ, or have they all become evil spirits? Because they think that the Swiss father will not fully understand their questions they tend to keep them to themselves. Although I never heard them discuss this subject in formal debate, many Catholics are keen to articulate Catholicism and pre-Christian *kawas* (see Table 7-1).

For these inquisitive Catholics the most important question is: what is the nature of the Catholicism now practised by the Ami? Their dilemma is obvious— on the one hand, Catholicism is the religion of the whites and an international well-established religion, the Ami know this to be true because the Swiss missionaries told them and other evidence reinforces this view; but on the other hand they have to face the fact that their Catholicism is performed in the Ami language. Furthermore, in the past few years many western priests they have known have died one after another. And there is no sign that any western priests will come and replace the older ones. In other words, eventually they will have to look after their church by themselves. Therefore, how to merge Catholicism with tradition in their articulations has become important. The comparison of these two religions is part of Asala's answer.

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18 Or the religion of Americans. To some extent, this helps us to understand why so far there are only two ordained Ami priests (in the Catholic Church) while there are more than 54 ordained Ami ministers in the Presbyterian Church.

Table 7-1 Equivalencies between Ami pre-Christian *kawas* and Catholic hierarchy

Kawas in pre-Christian religion	*kawas* in Catholicism
Malataw	*Wama* (Jesus Christ/God)
Faydogi	*Maria* (mother of Jesus Christ)
Kakacawan	*coyoh* (angel)
kawas no niyaro'	*fagcalay tamdaw* (saints)
kawas no cikawasay	*fagcalay tamdaw* (saints)
palafoay a kawas	*palafoay* (evil)
'adigo	*'adigo* (soul)

I first heard of these equivalencies from Lifok in 1989 who said that Asala was their source. This is quite likely as the bringing together of pre-Christian and Catholic knowledge is something only someone of Asala's generation would be qualified to do. It is possible that these equivalencies (or similar ones) were commonly employed when Christianity first arrived as a means of putting Ami meanings to Catholic terms. Now these equivalencies are being used to re-create the pre-Christian *kawas*, about whom knowledge is scant among the younger generations. Apart from Asala, the only other informant who talked confidently about these equivalencies was Maro'. Both Asala and Maro' are active in the Catholic Church and know the Christian bible much better than most other Catholic villagers. They claim that Catholicism is more or less similar to their pre-Christian religion. For example, the supreme god *Malataw* is presumed to be the Christian god and because *Faydogi* is the only female kawas she is assumed to be Maria. All other pre-Christian supernatural beings have their corresponding counterparts in Catholicism. Although they do not broadcast publicly their thoughts about pre-Christian supernatural beings, in casual conversations with me they admit that in their view these supernatural beings still exist. Furthermore they are happy that the church authorities do not intervene in their use of pre-Christian elements in local

ceremonies. In their view, the local ceremonies practised by Ami Catholics are very powerful because they contains elements of both pre-Christian and Catholic religions.[19]

When compared with the Presbyterians in Iwan, who have been influenced by the Pentecostal movement (see section 7.4), the attitude of Catholics toward pre-Christian customs is extremely significant. The Presbyterian Ami tend to see their god as the only god in the world, and all other gods/goddesses, including Ami supernatural beings of the past, are seen as evil spirits. I shall discuss the implications of this difference in the next chapter.

7.3 The development of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church

The training of local ministers has been one of the major tasks of foreign missionaries since they were sent to Taiwan. The foundations for religious education in Taiwan were laid earlier this century, with the establishment of the first institutions, namely the Taiwan Theological College in Danshwei and Tainan Theological College in Tainan. The Danshwei and Changrung middle schools of the Presbyterian Church boast a similarly long history, longer than all other middle schools in Taiwan.

Since the Yushan Theological College was established in 1946, it has performed an important role and exists to serve the aboriginal churches of the Presbyterian mission in Taiwan. Its primary service is to train pastors and other church workers. By 1976, 294 theological students had graduated, as well as 24 women trained in the field of Christian education and home economics, 89 young men trained in the field of agriculture and 517 men and women who finished short-training and refresher courses. About 80% of the graduates from the theological department of the Yushan Theological College are serving in the church (M. Wu,1978:113), and this figure is higher than the proportion of graduates from Taiwan and Tainan Theological

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[19] The relationship between traditional cosmological ideas and those of Catholicism needs further study. It is possible that it is an important factor in the continuance of a Catholic majority in Iwan.

Colleges. The large number of local ministers enables the Presbyterian Church to respond to social change better than the Roman Catholic Church[20].

The Presbyterian Church also began bible translation earlier than the Roman Catholic Church. Realising the tremendous importance of having the bible in the mother tongue of each people, the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan began this work at the beginning of its mission. But before the immense task of translating the bible into vernacular could begin, the language had to be learned by outsiders and then transcribed. The Rev. Edvard Torjesens of the Evangelical Alliance Mission started this task using the Ami language in 1955. This means that the Presbyterian Church began its indigenisation campaign about fifteen years earlier than the Roman Catholic Church.

However, according to M. Wu (1978:101), foreign missionaries were more concerned with religion rather than other aspects of social life, and for more than a hundred years the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan had not been interested in political affairs. This situation changed in the early 1970s. On the one hand, changes in the Taiwanese politico-economic system, such as economic development, began to take hold, and the Chinese Nationalist government faced a challenge from Communist China in international politics. This stimulated a reaction from the Taiwanese people, and various social movements began in the 1970s. While on the other hand, the local Taiwanese Presbyterian ministers, having taken control of the church administration from the foreign missionaries in the late 1970s,[21] made changes to the structure and

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[20] In Iwan the Catholic majority is related to internal political arrangements rather than the performance of ministers.

[21] The General Assembly began to plan the "Self-support and Mutual Aid Movement" in 1976 and put it into practice between 1977 and 1980. This movement encouraged Christians to be independent and nonsubmissive. Concerning the relationship between the local church and the mother church, it emphasised that the relationship should change from one of paternalism into one of partnership. Consequently, the local people gradually took over responsibility for the church from the foreign missionaries (cf. W. Wu, 1987).

governance of the church. Three declarations have been made by the General Assembly since 1971.

The "Declaration and Proclamation on our Nation's Fate" was proclaimed on December 29th 1971. It stated:

> "We oppose any nation's disregarding the rights and wishes of the fifteen million people in Taiwan... we urge the government to hold general elections ... to replace all the representatives who were elected more than twenty years ago on mainland China."[22] (Syu & Sh eds.,1992:3-4; my translation)

The second action of the Presbyterian Church was "Our Appeal", which was adopted by the Executive Committee of the General Assembly of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, which met in Taichung on November 18th 1975 (*ibid.*:7-8).

> "Recognising the danger which our country is facing at this critical time, the Church must share the responsibility for the nation's survival or fall. We would like honestly to express to the government our position and voice our opinions on the future of the nation... In order to save the nation in this time of crisis, we must unite together sincerely and fulfil the church's responsibility to promote justice, liberty, and peace so that the church may be worthy to be called a servant of Christ." (my translation)

The message of this appeal to the government was clear: the church wanted to preserve the freedom of religious faith as granted to the people in the constitution. The emphasis on this point was related to the fact that the bibles published in the local dialects by the Bible Society had been investigated and confiscated by the government.

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22 There are three parliaments in Taiwan and these are based upon Chinese systems of government before 1949. The Legislative Yuan formulates the nation's laws; the Control Yuan is the government 'watch-dog body'; and the National Assembly acts as the electoral college for the president and vice president (Kwang Hwa Publishing Company,1989:36). In 1949 Chiang Kai-shek, after his defeat by Chinese communists, brought about two million followers from mainland China to Taiwan. Among these Chinese refugees, were many members of the three Chinese parliaments and they were given positions in the Taiwanese government without re-election, until the 1980s. This was one of the targets of the Taiwanese in their protests against the Chinese Nationalist government.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of China, Article 13, "The people shall have freedom of religious belief." But the authorities regarded a vernacular bible as a contravention of the policy of promoting the use of Mandarin Chinese as the national language. Furthermore, following the country's withdrawal from the United Nations and the suspension of diplomatic relations, the government was concerned that every level of the population should positively develop foreign relations and promote cultural and economic connections with foreign countries. Therefore, the appeal suggests that the government should allow the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church to attend the World Council of Churches and other such church organisations of an international nature.

The third action of the church was announced on August 16th 1977, while the government of the United States was pursuing its attempt to achieve the normalisation of relationships with Communist China had begun to improve the year before. This letter entitled "A Declaration on Human Rights by the Presbyterian Church in Taiwan" was addressed to the President of the USA, to all countries concerned, and to Christian Churches throughout the world. One of the most controversial items in this letter was (*ibid.*:13):

> "In order to achieve the goal of independence and freedom for the people of Taiwan, in this critical international situation, we urge the government to face reality and to take effective measures. So that Taiwan can become a new and independent country."(my translation, emphasis added)

In expressing such views, the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church tends to be more sympathetic to the present opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, rather than to the ruling Chinese Nationalist Party. However, the aboriginal Presbyterians were in a strange position in the conflict between the government and the church. In fact, at that time most of the aboriginal Presbyterians were unaware of this critical stance, because they paid little attention to Chinese newspapers and radio programmes. On the other hand, their rights had been neglected for a long time. Even in the important missive: "The National Fate of Taiwan and Christians' Responsibility", the church mentioned only the rights of people who had migrated from mainland China to

Taiwan in the 17th century and thereafter, as well as those of the recent immigrants from the mainland after 1949. There had been nothing, not even a word, about the Taiwanese aborigines.

An Ami minister's observation (M. Wu, 1978:107) is significant:

> "in comparison with the previous rulers, the government of the Republic of China has done many favourable acts for them more than any predecessors...[*sic*]. Thus, the Tribals[23] are grateful to the government and willing to be loyal to this country."

For many aboriginal elites, the government's policy toward vernacular bibles in Romanised script was also understandable. From the government's point of view it was important to speak the same language as a means to engender a spirit of consolidation and integrity in the whole nation. Therefore, the assimilation of the aborigines with the Chinese was the ultimate goal of every government policy affecting aboriginal people. Obviously, the Church's efforts in translating the bible into aboriginal languages using Romanised script helped them maintain the currency of those languages. This was precisely the opposite of what the government hoped to achieve through assimilation.

It is general knowledge in Taiwan that the Chinese communists in mainland China simplified and Romanised Chinese characters. As a result, even though Romanised letters had been used in Taiwan for more than a century, the idea of using them was unacceptable to the Nationalist government. Therefore, as long as they used a Romanised bible and hymn books, Christians could never avoid being suspected by the government of being subversives. No wonder many church workers, especially priests in the Roman Catholic Church, did not oppose the government's policies.[24]

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[23] This thesis uses aborigine to replace the term tribe.

[24] In Taiwan the Roman Catholic Church is usually on good terms with the Nationalist government. Compared with the Presbyterian Church, the Catholic authorities did not want to oppose the government on this issue. Some aboriginal elites claim the government's policies are to sinicize all the aborigines. An Ami ex-assistant priest told me that the Catholic authorities asked the urban Ami to worship with the Chinese believers and had no intention of setting up separate churches for the Ami

Despite the fact that the government insisted upon its policy until late the 1980s, the Romanised bible has been widely used among the Ami since the late 1970s.

Under the authority of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, the Ami Presbyterians had their own presbytery, and to some extent they could govern their own affairs. In this atmosphere, many Ami ministers and elders started to reconsider their religion and social tradition about a decade ago. The opinion of M. Wu (1978:89-90) reflects this movement accurately.

> "In the early time of spreading of the Gospel in aboriginal villages, there were a lot of Chinese missionaries who came up with the love of God and devotion of preaching [*sic*]. Regretfully, they didn't understand the aborigines' traditional customs, culture and social structure very much. Those aboriginal preachers who came with them were not ripe enough [*sic*] in theological knowledge to discuss the good and evil traditions of their own cultures. They abrogated entirely the old traditions and without thinking there were worthwhile to be kept or not. This decision has accelerated the inferiority complex of the aborigines, because they felt nothing worthy in their history. Take the Ami as an example. Not only the witch-doctors[25] were attacked by the Church but also the new year ritual (*ilisin*) was identified as evil."

A few years ago the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church began to encourage its followers to participate in the Ami's new year ceremony (*ilisin*) and some Presbyterian-dominated Ami villages have revived their *ilisin* recently.[26] However, the Presbyterians in Iwan are not directly affected by the decisions of the church authorities

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in urban areas. This was in order to co-operate with the government and to avoid being accused of enticing the Ami to separate from the Chinese-dominated society.

25 I use the term traditional (or local) healers to replace witch-doctors in this study.

26 I have visited some Presbyterian churches outside Iwan which have been influenced by this movement. I think that in terms of behaviour patterns, these Presbyterians tend to become more and more like Catholics in Iwan (i.e. interested in this world). This needs further study.

because they have become involved with another religious movement[27] which will be described in the next section.

7.4 The Pentecostal movement of the Presbyterian Church in Iwan

According to Tung (1987), there were approximately a hundred Christian denominations in Taiwan in the 1980s.[28] Among these denominations, some belonged to the Pentecostal movement, such as the True Jesus Church, the China Assemblies of God, the Taiwan Assemblies of God, the Pentecostal Church, the Nora Lam Ministries and the Chinese Christian Prayer Mountain. Because the Ami are involved with the True Jesus Church and the Chinese Christian Prayer Mountain this section will concentrate on these two denominations.

The True Jesus Church is an indigenous Chinese Christian Church[29] which began in 1917 in Peking (True Jesus Church Gazetteer Committee, 1956). It was brought from Fukien to western Taiwan in 1926 by some Taiwanese who had business connections with mainland China. Many Presbyterians converted to this new church at that time (W. Huang, 1984a:293).

One feature of the True Jesus Church is its lay movement, i.e. there are no ordained ministers but only elders and clerks to run the church. This denomination also puts a strong emphasis on ecstatic union with the holy spirit during worship. When the believers sing a hymn, they repeat it again and again until an altered state of consciousness is achieved. While reading the bible, if they feel in sympathy with the message, they respond with Hallelujah (praise the lord). Its followers usually pray loudly and heartily.

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[27] I maintain that their involvement with the Chinese Christian Prayer Mountain (see next section) was a reaction to the softening attitude of their church authorities.

[28] Also see Swanson (1981) for detailed information.

[29] In contrast to Catholism and Presbyterian, in Iwan, the True Jesus Church has never been seen as a religion of the Americans.

The Ami's contact with the True Jesus Church began in 1946 when a few Ami left their home villages and worked in western Taiwan. After their conversion to this church, they came back to Chenggung to evangelise. This church rejected many Ami customs and forbade its believers to participate in the new year ceremony (*ilisin*), and this caused many Ami villagers as well as some Chinese policemen to dislike it (True Jesus Church Gazetteer Committee, 1976).[30] However in 1953, the True Jesus Church established a strong base in Chenggung and a huge church was built in that year. Up to now the True Jesus Church has achieved very good results in Chenggung and its nearby villages.

There are no True Jesus Church members in Iwan. But in Tomi'ac, the Ami village next to Iwan, eleven households belong to this church. Compared with 60 Presbyterian households, it has a small congregation, although the size of the actual church building itself outstrips all the others[31]. I find their frequent church activities very interesting. Almost everyday, there is an activity in the church, and their enthusiasm for these activities is far beyond that of the Ami from any other church. Nowadays, no village has only one church; but if a village has a True Jesus Church its building will very often be the biggest one in the area.

But the Catholics both in Iwan and Tomi'ac, and some Presbyterians in Tomi'ac as well, characterise the believers of the True Jesus Church as crazy and use the term 'Hallelujah' to refer to them. The Presbyterians in Iwan claim that they are different from the Hallelujah in other villages; however the Catholics see the Presbyterian members of the village as becoming more and more like Hallelujah in the ways they worship. This has been the case since the mid 1980s when the

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30 This source does not mention why the Chinese policemen did not welcome the True Jesus Church. Presumably it was because this church was too radical and might cause social unrest.

31 There are three churches in Tomi'ac. Apart from the True Jesus Church and the Presbyterian Church, there are twelve households belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1988, the believers of the True Jesus Church spent 4,200,000NT$ rebuilding their church; it cost each household 400,000 NT$ (£10,000). Villagers from both the Presbyterian Church and the Roman Catholic Church confess that they cannot afford to rebuild their churches in the same manner.

Presbyterians became involved with the activities of the Chinese Christian Prayer Mountain (CCPM).

On June 9th 1981, a Chinese priest set up the CCPM in Myauli County. Its major purpose was to offer all the Christians, irrespective of their denomination, a place to pray. The organisation stressed the importance of fasting (jin sh) during the period of prayer (dau gau). Fasting prayer (jin sh dau gau) thus became the distinguishing feature of the CCPM. From April 8th 1981 onwards, it held two prayer meetings every month. Each one lasted at least five days. During the meeting, all the participants were not allowed to eat anything, and drank only water. Besides praying, they sang songs of praise, read the bible, and gave testimony. Usually the meeting reached its climax in the final prayers. At that time, they sought to cure the diseases of the participants through the power of prayer. In 1982, the CCPM began to invite aboriginal Christians to join them.

December 12th to 15th 1982 was the first time the Presbyterians in Iwan were invited to Vata'an Church for this kind of worship (CCPM, 1983). Later, the Ami had their own Prayer Mountain in Japing, about 50 km south from Iwan, and the influence of CCPM became more and more important among them. At first, a female Ami Presbyterian, who had been to CCPM in Myauli many times before she came back to her home village, Japing, decided to have a one-week fasting prayer on a small hill near the village in 1985. Her survival encouraged some other followers. Then one year later, another Presbyterian from another village came to Japing and claimed that god had told her in a dream there would be a holy well somewhere on the east coast of Taiwan. They dug many holes near a hut where some Ami Presbyterians were practising the fasting prayer and they found the holy well. The belief that water from the holy well could cure any disease and bless folk with good fortune then spread among the Ami villages. Some Ami believers built a thatched-roof hut for worship near the well and every month a fasting prayer was held there. Gradually, more and more Ami believers from different villages came to worship and a huge gathering hall was built by them in 1991.

Fasting prayers are now held by all the Ami rather just than by those in one single settlement. They also like to invite Chinese or Korean[32] believers to take part in these rituals which strengthens their belief in fraternity and equality among all human beings before god. Faith is also strengthened through fellowship gained by paying regular visits to other settlements or by inviting believers from other settlements to Iwan. In this way, they can also have a greater chance of contact with Chinese believers.[33]

The challenge from the CCPM to the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church is enormous. Although the CCPM claims that it is a non-denominational organisation which serves all Christians, its way of prayer is influenced by a Korean church and is different from the traditional Presbyterian forms of worship.[34] For example, a Presbyterian minister told me that the CCPM emphasises the lay movement too much and thus formal theological training and church authority were under threat. Another Ami Presbyterian, who lived in Taipei, said that in his church some people go to the CCPM regularly and so see themselves closer to god than those who do not go for the fasting prayer. These two groups of believers thus argue frequently. This disagreement is increased when the people who are associated with the CCPM criticise the conventional forms of worship as dull and lacking in spirituality.

The Presbyterians in Iwan do not have the problem of disunity between people who go to the Prayer Mountain and those that do not.[35] However, because the majority of Catholics in Iwan hold the view that a village should be a united social group for collective activities they tend to see the Presbyterians as separatists. Criticism

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32 Although there are no Koreans in Iwan, in Taiwan generally Korean based religions (like CCPM) are being introduced as Korean big business becomes involved in the Taiwanese economy.

33 Presbyterians in Iwan believe that all human beings, including the Ami and the Chinese, are all the descendants of Adam and Eve. The Catholics are not so certain about this.

34 A minister of the Presbyterian church told me that the CCPM has a strong tie with a Korean church, which is supported by a South Korean commercial company. In July 1993, the elder of Iwan Presbyterian Church, Holikawa, was invited by that church to visit Korea with some other Ami believers.

35 Almost all of them have been to Japing for fasting prayer.

of this sort became even worse when the Presbyterians in Iwan were affiliated to the Pentecostal movement.

7.5 Religious change after 1960

In this section I move into a different area and style of Ami discourse. In previous chapters I have been describing events in the past in a general fashion and this reflects the way the Ami themselves talk about their distant past. However in this section I will be describing more recent events and in keeping with Ami discourse about events in the recent past little generalisation is involved. Of great importance here is the fact that the people discussed are still alive and so they are far more difficult to manipulate as characters in a narrative. This holds both for these Ami who talk about their past and for anthropologists who wish to translate Ami discourse about their past. So my treatment of recent events is centred around individual characters and their stories.

Nakaw was born in Ko'alot in 1950. Her family adopted Presbyterianism when she was a child. She went to Iwan as a hairdresser[36] in 1970 and married Kacaw of Ci'okakay clan. Because Kacaw's family practised Catholicism, one of their marriage agreements was that his family should not force Nakaw to give up her religion. She retained her religion until 1981 when her first son was baptised in the Catholic church. She told me that it was not appropriate in terms of household management for a household to belong to two different churches. Because she was a married-in person and her husband was the head of the household, she felt she should sacrifice her own religion and join the Roman Catholic church.

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36 The shop was a section of a local grocery owned by a Chinese trader.

Kofid and Halo provide another example of the ideal of household unity in religion. They were both born in Iwan and belonged to Sadipogan and Cikatopay clans respectively. When Halo married into Kofid's family, which practised Catholicism, her family asked Kofid's not to interfere in her belief in Presbyterianism. But Kofid was unhappy about his wife's devotion to Presbyterian church activities. He decided to move to Cadapogan, a small settlement between Iwan and Ta'man, where there was only a Catholic church, to stop her involvement in the Presbyterian church. When Kofid went to western Taiwan to earn his wages, Halo came back to Iwan for Sunday services. I met her on many occasions around this time but then suddenly she stop attending the Sunday worship. A Presbyterian informant told me that Halo had to stay at home when her husband came back to avoid a conflict with him. Halo once told me that she was determined to keep her faith no matter what. However, her husband Kofid complained to me on another occasion that a household should not have two gods and insisted that his wife should give up her belief because she was the person who married into his family. Many villagers, including Catholics and Presbyterians, believe that the economic failure of Kofid's household[37] can be blamed on the disunity of their beliefs.

Caglah's family converted from the Presbyterian Church to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1967. She married a Chinese man who arrived in Taiwan from China after 1949. The couple lived in Changbin before they moved back to Iwan in 1971. Once in Iwan she and her husband went to the Seventh-day Adventist church with her parents. On March 12th 1983, her husband decided to adopt Roman Catholicism and Caglah was obliged to abandon her Seventh-day Adventist belief and join her husband on April 2nd 1983.[38] Her parents did not interfere with her decision

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[37] Kofid was seriously hurt in a shipwreck (when he was working on a fishing boat). He cannot do any strenuous work, such as fishermen or building constructors do, which are the best paid jobs for ordinary Ami men.

[38] Caglah's late husband was the only Chinese Christian in Iwan.

because she was a married-out daughter. Although her husband died a few years ago, she retains her Catholicism to the present day.

Caglah's brother Okoy and sister-in-law Wusay are a slightly different case from Caglah's. Wusay was from a Catholic family. Wusay told me that when she married into her husband's family, her father-in-law persuaded her to join the Seventh-day Adventist church. In order to maintain the harmony of the household she agreed to do so. In 1976, she and her husband moved to Gausyung because her husband worked on a fishing boat which was based in Gausyung harbour. She said she could not go to the Seventh-day Adventist church because she could not find a place of worship in the area where she was living. Even after her parents-in-law died in 1987 and 1991, she and her husband continued at least nominally to be followers of the Seventh-day Adventist church. This situation persisted until 1992 when Wusay was seriously ill and nearly died. While she was in the hospital, her husband agreed that they might return to Catholicism. Because, she said, "once we die we will be buried in our home village and in Iwan most of our relatives are Catholics". Furthermore, Wusay explained that her father-in-law had once agreed that his son and daughter-in-law might leave the Seventh-day Adventist church after his death.

Agkim's case is similar to Wusay's. Her parents became members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and she and her husband, a married-in person, had to follow. However, after Agkim's parents died, the couple decided to come back to the Presbyterian church.

Hama, raised a Catholic, provides a different case. His wife[39], who was from a Presbyterian family, married into his family in 1968. Twelve years later, in 1980, rather than force his wife to leave her church, Hama abandoned his Catholicism and went to the Presbyterian Church with his wife. This decision made his family very

[39] A niece of Halikawa, the church elder of the Iwan Presbyterians.

upset. The couple then left the village and settled down in western Taiwan. During my stay in Iwan I only saw them once. In other words, their connections with the village and kin are very weak when compared with most other Iwan emigrants.

Tagsig and Regos left Catholicism and joined the Presbyterian church in 1991. Their decision was influenced by their daughter Ogo, who in that year suffered a serious fall while she was working as a builder. Whilst in hospital, a group of Presbyterians led by their elder Holikawa went to see her and prayed for her. Her quick recovery was taken as a miracle testifying to the power of god. Tagsig told me that when his daughter was in hospital the Catholic church showed little sympathy. He was very grateful to the Presbyterian villagers for their warmth and decided to join them. But he and his wife have not got used to the Presbyterian's way of worshipping and do not show the same attitude of rejecting tradition as other Presbyterians[40].

Some cases of conversion to Japanese and Chinese religions are also worthy of attention. In 1987, Dogi and her sister, Panay, went to Japan for paid work. After staying there for a year, they brought back Tenrikyo, a Japanese religion,[41] and refused to return to the Roman Catholic Church. Dogi's husband Ahina and Panay's husband Okoy, were both introduced into the Tenrikyo later as married-in persons. Panay died on January 15th 1991 and a funeral ritual was performed in the Tenrikyo manner. Only a few relatives attended this funeral because most of the Christian villagers believed that it was an offence to their god if they attended a pagan ritual. When I came to Iwan for this study in October 1992, Ahina was very ill and had to stay in bed most of the time. Before his death on November 27th 1992, I never saw Dogi and her family go to the Catholic church for Sunday worship. Surprisingly Ahina's

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40 For example, they like to join in the new year ceremony *ilisin* and they enjoy traditional singing and dancing, chewing betel quids and drinking alcohol. All these are regarded by many Presbyterians as inappropriate behaviour for a Christian.

41 They worked as cleaners in restaurants. An informant told me that this kind of job was provided by the Tenrikyo authorities to spread their influence. There is a headquarters of this religion in Taidung.

funeral was performed by the Catholic father in the Catholic way. Some informants (such as Asala, Lifok and Maro') said that Ahina was a devout Catholic and didn't want to join Tenrikyo in the first place but as a married-in man he had to give up his objections but when he was about to die he insisted that his funeral should be performed by the Catholic father[42]. After the funeral, Dogi came back to the Catholic church, and I was told that her return was the necessary condition for her husband to have a Catholic funeral ritual. Now Okoy is the only person who still practises Tenrikyo in Iwan. Lifok told me that this situation somehow reflected Okoy's personality. He explained that when Okoy was in school, he was always the best in his class. However, he was unlucky to be born into a household of Ciwidian clan and later married into the Pacidal clan. Both these two clans were so small and weak that Okoy had no chance of being the leader of the village.

After Dogi's return to the Roman Catholic church, I had a chance to talk to her about her religious life. She said that when she was in Japan, she had terrible headaches and was worried about her son who had lost contact with the family for five years when he had joined the crew of a fishing boat. Her grief was comforted by the Tenrikyo ritual so she decided to accept this religion. She did not directly explain the reasons for her return to the Catholic church but emphasised that all religions are basically the same. This implied that everyone could choose a religion according to his/her free will. But most of the villagers disagree with this opinion. For most Ami, religion concerns not only concern individual welfare but also the unity of the social group as a whole. Therefore they see any villager who does not practise Catholicism as an enemy of village solidarity.

This attitude also applies to the villagers who have converted to Chinese religion. After the adoption of Christianity in the 1950s, most of the villagers were satisfied with their new religion and they rejected Chinese religions. After the movement towards Christianity, only two cases of conversion to Chinese religion

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42 Ahina had been the Swiss father's cook for many years.

occurred in Iwan. The first case happened in the mid 1980s[43]. This family came from Fafokod, a southern Ami village about 70 kilometres from Iwan, in 1940. The head of the household, Saytowan, was a pre-Christian local healer. He and his wife, Kali, were two of the earlier converts to Presbyterianism in Iwan. But with the arrival of Catholicism, they accepted the Roman Catholic Church immediately. Then they moved to the Seventh-day Adventist church and finally converted to the Chinese religion. Many villagers looked down on them because of this constant shifting. Saytowan died in 1985 and the whole family moved back to Fafokod. But according to the household registration, Kali is the only member of the family who maintains a house in Iwan[44]. I saw Kali only once in her house and confirmed that her family practised Chinese religion. But she refused to talk about her religion and did not even let me in. Her neighbours said that she lived in Fafokod for most of the time and rarely came back to Iwan. No one in Iwan knew exactly the background to Kali's family's accepting Chinese religion. However, it is said that they are not pure Ami and have a connection with sinicized aborigines[45]. Because many villagers do not consider Kali's household to be a normal household of Iwan, no one really cares about the family's conversion to Chinese religion. Dafak's case, however, is totally different.

On April 17th 1993, some unusual sounds attracted the attention of many villagers and I too was curious. First, there was the noise of fireworks and then a mixture of the sound of bell and prayer which I had never heard in Iwan before. The situation was so unusual that I went to another room of the house where I was living

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43 Before and after this time, many Ami women who married into Chinese families consequently accepted Chinese religion. The Ami are not critical of this kind of conversion because in their opinion it is part of the marriage agreement. On the other hand they expect a married-in person, no matter whether Chinese or Ami, to accept their religion (Catholicism or Presbyterianism).

44 An informant said that this arrangement was mainly for Kali to claim low income household relief from the local government. Documents from the local government show that two households in Iwan received the relief in 1993 and Kali was one of the cases.

45 In Taiwan, many descendants of the sinicized aborigines (ping pu dzu) are very keen to accept Chinese culture and disguise their origins. I have met one of Kali's grandsons twice. He speaks fluent Chinese Fukien dialect and tends to behave as a Chinese.

and looked through the window. A Chinese religious specialist was conducting a ritual in front of Dafak's house and about twenty of Dafak's family were participating in it. In the ritual, three crucifixes, from Dafak's and his two sisters' households, were burnt and then Chinese style altars were set up in each of their houses.

During my stay in Iwan, Dafak was a close friend of mine. He liked to talk to me in Mandarin Chinese and invited me to have dinner with his family many times. He had graduated from a senior high school in Taipei. This made him very different from his contemporaries. After the bankruptcy of his small telephone assembly business in northern Taiwan, he went back to Iwan and found a job as a diver, catching tropical fish. He then passed an examination and worked for a branch of an official fishing laboratory which was based in Chenggung. He is very successful in terms of his economic and educational achievements. He is also the only Ami in Iwan who drinks tea regularly.[46] Before his conversion to Chinese religion, I sensed that something unusual was going to happen but didn't know what. After Dafak's conversion, many villagers intentionally avoided visiting his and his sisters' house but rumours were widespread in the village for nearly a month. According to the villagers' speculations there were two main reasons for the conversions. Many people said that Dafak's wife was sexually abused during massage treatment by a Chinese man. Dogi, Dafak's wife, insisted that she was unconscious during the massage and the case was sent to a court in Taidung. Some informants (including Lifok and Maro') said that Dafak might think that his wife was innocent and some magic performed by the accused Chinese masseur was to blame. In other words, Dafak and his family tried to seek the protection of the Chinese religion to cure his wife's suffering. Another speculation about their conversion concerned Dafak's niece Kincom, daughter of Dafak's eldest sister Itay. Kincom is married to an Ami and they live in Taidung. This couple indulged in gambling with Chinese people and were seriously in debt. Informants (such as Maro'

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[46] This is a very significant point. Most of the Ami entertain their guests with wine or soft drinks which can be purchased from the local groceries. Tea leaves and tea pots are not available there. To many catholics, such as Asala and Maro', Dafak is a Chinese 'fan'.

and Lfok) explained that Itay believed that her daughter and son-in-law's gambling addiction was induced by evil Chinese spirits and only by practising Chinese religion could help be gained. In other words, the god of Catholicism has not enough or, more likely, the right sort of potency to help them because their troubles arose from peculiarly Chinese agents. However, some other informants (e.g. Asala and Dipon) said that if Dafak and his family did not come to church for regular worship they could not expect god to protect them.

About a month after this event, Dafak and his sister Itay told me about their decision. They did not mention the afore mentioned reasons but justified their action as following their ancestors' will. They said that for a long time many of their family members had dreamt about their ancestors, who complained that they had had nothing to eat since their descendants accepted Catholicism. Thus they decided to abandon Catholicism and worship their ancestors instead. This explanation did not convince other villagers at all, because the Roman Catholic Church had allowed its followers to worship their ancestors a few years prior to this.[47] It was therefore unnecessary for Dafak and his family to abandon Catholicism if they simply wanted to worship their ancestors. Furthermore, on Dafak's and his sisters' new altars, there are not only tablets for ancestor worship but also some pictures of Chinese gods/ goddesses. From the decoration of their altars and their descriptions of the timing and forms of ritual, most people thought, without any doubt, that they had converted to Chinese religion. Interestingly, both Dafak and Itay told me that some, though not all, pictures of the gods/goddesses on the altars are Ami rather than Chinese. Clearly this is a new invention; articulating elements from Chinese and Ami religions as opposed to the more common articulations of Ami tradition and Roman Catholicism. I suggest that Dafak

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[47] Complying with the Chinese tradition, the Roman Catholic Church in Taiwan allows its believers to worship (the official term is commemorate) their ancestors. It even allows believers to use ancestor worship tablets and incense. While some Chinese Christians welcome this decision, many Protestants criticise this as idolatry.

and Itay are legitimising their conversion to Chinese religion by claiming that they have not abandoned Ami tradition.

7.6 Convention, articulation and leadership

In most previous studies[48] of Ami's conversion, external influences are emphasised and the dynamics of the Ami's socio-cultural system is more or less ignored. This tendency can be traced back to Japanese aboriginal studies. One of the major purposes of colonial studies of Taiwanese aborigines was to provide information on their customs for the Japanese administration. Most of those works constructed an image of aboriginal people as isolated in time and place in accordance with the aims of the isolationist policy of the Japanese administration. Consequently most Japanese studies tend to regard external socio-economic factors as the dynamic force, and see this external influence as imposed upon aboriginal people by the wider society. In this context, aborigines are described as passive recipients of Taiwanese history and not as agents of their own history. But just as Jean Comaroff (1985:155) says: "the relationship of such a global system to local formations has to be viewed as a historical problem; it is a relationship which, while inherently contradictory and unequal, is not universally determining." Hence when we try to understand how local histories can be related to other large-scale generalising stories about the past (e.g. those histories found in Taiwanese academic texts), we have to consider how local people perceive and experience external phenomena. Furthermore, we should not neglect the imbalanced relations between outsiders (colonial ruler) and the Ami people (colonial subjects). My analytic framework therefore involves two major dimensions: firstly local cultural systems, which people use to lead their lives and through which they perceive external influnences, and secondly the ways in which the indigenous system and the external phenomena are articulated.

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48 Some of the concepts I use in this paragraph are from I. Cheng (1992).

Religious conversion in Iwan happened against a historical background such that, after contact with the colonialists, the Ami were forced to step outside their relatively isolated world. Mass conversion took place when a common dissatisfaction about their life was felt in the 1950s and there was a need to pursue the idea of a brighter future. For the Ami, the acceptance of Christianity meant that they were worshipping a new *kawas*, whose potency had been proven by the fact that the Americans beat the Japanese in the Second World War. At the same time it also meant that they were protesting to the colonialists, the Japanese and the Chinese, by accepting the religion of the Americans. In the initial stages of conversion most Ami used their traditional knowledge to make sense of Christianity. This is why the church workers were seen as another group of local healers.

I suggest that the adoption of Christianity in the 1950s can be seen as a struggle between rival cultural articulations. At that time, the Ami were exposed to many different foreign cultures, such as Chinese, Japanese and European, and different articulations were formed by different people with different intentions. In fact, before their conversion to Christianity, apart from their traditional religion, Japanese and Chinese religions were accepted to some extent by some people. We may see these cases of adoption of Chinese and Japanese religions as two forms of Ami articulations. Through the strategies of local political leaders, Christianity became the dominant religion in the village. In the late 1950s, two Christian churches were established and new conventions were created. As Kaplan (1989:17) says: "Articulations are always being contested." The contest between the Catholic and the Presbyterian churches was the most prominent one in the 1950s. Even in the 1960s intermarriage between members of these churches was not allowed.[49]

Nowadays, Catholics and Presbyterians maintain different ways of worshipping and their expectations of religion are different too. For example, compared with the Catholics, the Presbyterians have a view that, in terms of a relation

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[49] The relationship between these two churches has improved since the late 1960s when the migration to urban areas began.

to god, all human beings are more or less equal. Although there are elders and ministers in the church, a Presbyterian should not rely on them totally. Furthermore, some basic concepts of Christianity, such as sin, salvation, and redemption, have been accepted by them. Therefore, they have a stronger sense of responsibility to evangelise the non-Christians.[50]

However, Catholics and Presbyterians share some conventions in common. For example, as far as I know they have all abandoned the traditional concept of human soul and adopted a new one. In other words, there was no longer a distinction between *sahaklog* (immature human soul) and *'adigo* (mature human soul). They also claim that each human being received a mature soul when he/she is baptised. This is reflected in funeral services: so long as one is a Christian, even if only a new-born baby, the rite for the dead is basically the same. Furthermore, apart from the Christian content of the rite, the basic structure of ceremonies has stayed the same. Most of the Iwan villagers also think that a household (if not a higher level kin group or a whole village) should worship the same god. These shared conventions should not be seen as simply the remains of their pre-Christian religion, rather they should be seen as a new articulation formed after their conversion. Furthermore, I agree with Kaplan's (1989:15) statement: "Their differing articulations are neither predictable nor predetermined, nor do they reflect any inevitable trajectory of Christian conversion, colonial 'civilization', or capitalist hegemony. They are simultaneously novel and interpretable, historical and cultural."

During the mass conversion of the 1950s and the later religious changes after 1960, some of the newly articulated conventions contributed to shaping religious life in Iwan. For example, the household was an important social unit in the past. The

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[50] I think the difference between Catholics and Presbyterians over this point is significant. For the Catholics, they tend to see me as a man who is interested in their traditional way of life. They were pleased when I joined them in ceremonies when some traditional cultural elements were being practised. None of them tried to evangelise me. On the other hand, the Presbyterians tend to see me as a potential Christian and like to discuss the contents of the bible with me. Please refer to section 8.2 for more detail.

question of residence after marriage was important too. In pre-Christian society, a person's membership of a kinship group was decided by his/her parent's place of residence.[51] As regards religion, to date, a married-in man (or woman) is expected to accept the religion of the household which he/she is marries-into[52]. Thus I suggest this convention was a new articulation after the Ami's conversion to Christianity. Many of the cases of religious change which occurred in Iwan can be understood in these terms. Although the traditional convention that a clan or a village should worship the same supernatural being is no longer shared among all villagers, for most of the Catholics it is still an ideal to which they adhere.

External phenomena, such as economic growth in wider Taiwanese society, did have some impact upon religious changes in Iwan. However, they did not directly determine the local villagers' religious lives. Rather, it was through some prominent Ami's articulations that external phenomena were integrated into Ami life. Overall, today, most of the Ami people in Iwan are pleased with their economic life and hence they are satisfied with their religions. This factor contributes to the persistence of Christianity among the majority of the Ami after 1960. It also explains why since 1960 Ami religious life has been stable especially compared with the 1950s: most Ami are satisfied with their secular life; and only people experiencing unusual suffering, like Dafak, would consider changing their religion.

Economic growth in Taiwan also provides the Ami with many chances of contacting outsiders, and this leads them into some difficult situations. For example, because of dangerous working conditions, many accidents occur.[53] Most people in

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51 Because the uxorilocal custom dominated before 1950, Ami kinship had the appearance of a matrilineal society. Residence after marriage is so pivotal that when the Ami accepted virilocal marriage, they automatically calculated membership of kinship group through a male-line.

52 In fact, in the past a married-in man need not have observed all his wife's family's taboos because he did not expect to participate in their ancestor worshipping activities. Nowadays, in Iwan, for most Catholics their god is different from the Presbyterians' god. I think this distinction is a result of Asala's political manouverings.

53 Fieldwork data show that over half of the young men from Iwan are working as building constructors. Many others are drivers of lorries, taxis or buses.

trouble tend to ask for help from their church. However, in order to seek the help of more powerful (or specific) supernatural beings to cure their special sufferings, some cases of conversion to Chinese or Japanese religions have happened. I also know that on many occasions, villagers went secretly to Chinese religious experts for help and hoped that they would not be noticed by the church workers. It seems that the Ami, or at least some of the Catholics, think that some Chinese gods/goddesses have special powers which the Christian god cannot offer. However, there is a common feeling, especially among the Catholics, that they do not want to be seen as separatists and become isolated from the majority of villagers. This consideration is an important factor when considering why they continue with their current religions.

The established conventions are so overwhelming that only a small number of people dare to challenge them. Take Dogi for example. She and her sister accepted a Japanese religion (Tenrikyo) when they were working in Japan. When they returned to Iwan they brought back this religion and asked their husbands to convert. However, Dogi lost the moral support of her sister after her sister's death and she gave up Tenrikyo and came back to the Catholic church when her husband died. Before she returned to the Catholic church I could feel that most villagers were treating her as a stranger deliberately. No wonder she seemed to regain her vitality and looked less lonely after she came back to the Catholic Church.

Similarly, we can imagine Dafak and his relatives needed enormous determination to convert to Chinese religion. I was told by many informants that Dafak was one of the potential future village leaders because of his successful career. But his choice of being a separatist has made it difficult for him to get the support of the majority of villagers at the moment. Another case could be mentioned in this context.

Alita (1922-) is recognised by many villagers as being versatile. He had a secondary school education and was seen as a potential leader when he was young. He converted to the Presbyterian Church in the early 1950s and changed to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the 1960s. He once told me that he not only hoped his fellow villagers would live more spiritual lives but also would give up some out-of-date

customs, so as to catch up with the Chinese more quickly. However, because his articulation did not profit the majority of villagers, he was seen as a separatist and never won the respect of the majority of villagers.[54]

One day, at a kinship gathering, I was among a group of elderly men who were discussing who was the best candidate for next village head. It is somehow like a choir, one of my informants (Alah) explained to me, to be a good leader of a choir you have to be popular and really good at singing. Of course you should be able to sing better than other people in the choir to earn their respect. But you should not be too outstanding otherwise no one can, or will, follow you.

Clearly it is difficult to be a good leader. A successful leader must convince his followers that his position is worthwhile and of some value to them. In fact his position is contingent upon his ability to meet the needs of followers. In other words, benefits must flow from leaders to their followers. In order to maintain his authority, a leader should articulate different cultural resources to meet the needs of his followers. It is in the interests of leaders to ensure that all their followers uphold the interpretations that justify their leadership.

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[54] Burridge (1969:9) says that: "If a prophet is to communicate, be accepted and recognized, he has to say and do things which are familiar and intelligible to his audience, and which will impress them." Replacing prophet with political leader, I think this passage could be applied to Ami society.

Chapter 8

Christianity and tradition

8.1 Present-day Ami life

Today, except for the two prominent churches, at first glance Iwan is like any ordinary Taiwanese village. For example, most houses are built in cement in western style and most inhabitants are elders or minors while almost all the able-bodied have gone to urban areas to earn wages. Between October 1992 and July 1993, during my follow-up fieldwork in Iwan, only four young men under forty stayed in the village for more than a month. The first one had come back to Iwan in 1988. He now runs a small business, making dumplings and selling them by himself from his own van throughout the coastal villages. The second one came back from Taipei after a marriage failure and tried to stay home to cure his skin disease which developed during his taxi driving career in northern Taiwan. So far as I know he found a job later in Chenggung as a shop assistant and is still staying in Iwan. The third one was discharged from his compulsory military service and he told me that he wanted to stay home relaxing for a while. He left the village three months later.[1] The fourth owns a small interior decorating business in northern Taiwan. He fell in an accident and came back to Iwan for a rest. He stayed in the village for about two months.

The attitude of the villagers to a young man who stays for a long period in the village is mixed. On the one hand, they, especially his relatives, welcome his company

[1] I was told by others that most young men went back to the job market within a month after their discharge from the army because the desire to earn money was great.

because he might provide some form of assistance to them. For instance, a young man can communicate with local government agents in Mandarin Chinese—a language most older people have not learnt. On the other hand, however, he is very often seen as an incompetent man who can not successfully compete in the cities and earn money outside the village. Under such pressure, the majority of young men live in northern or western Taiwan most of the time.[2]

I think that as a result of the continuing economic growth in Taiwan after 1960 the Ami have been generally satisfied with their standard of living and content with their religion and social life. Many studies have reported that the average length of school education among the aborigines is much shorter than that among the population in Taiwan as a whole (e.g. Fu,1987). My experiences in Iwan confirm this. Almost all the younger generation rush into the job market after they finish their compulsory education. Some even leave school early to earn money. Many reports also reveal that most aborigines do semi-skilled or low-skilled working class jobs. I have found similar patterns in my data. Fieldwork data show that over half of the young men from Iwan are working as building constructors. Many others are drivers of lorries, taxis or buses. For the majority of Chinese, these are all undesirable jobs and many Chinese scholars show sympathy toward the aborigines who are seen as victims of capitalism. Some aboriginal elites even use this to protest to the government about injustice. However, they fail to take the income factor into account. In fact, most of the Ami see their jobs in a different light. According to the latest government report, the average monthly income across all jobs is 31,050 NT$ (£776). Workers in the computer industry have the highest average income, 42,000 NT$ (£1,050) per month, although within the computer sector, there is a huge gap between the highest income at 64,000

[2] It is definitely to Asala's advantage that the younger generations live outside Iwan. Under such conditions a serious threat to his authority is unlikely to develop.

NT$ (£1,600) for the managers and the lowest income at 42,000 NT$ (£675) among secretarial staff. [3]

During my fieldwork in Iwan, I talked to many young Ami who are working as building constructors. I was told that the average daily wage was 2,000-2,500 NT$ (£50-62) for a man and 1,500-1,800 NT$ (£37-45) for a woman. Because there is continuing growth both in the economy and the population, the demand for houses, and hence builders, is usually great. An experienced man told me that he earned 3,100 NT$ (£77) a day and his average monthly income was 90,000 NT$ (£2,250). He said that his highest ever monthly income was 180,000 NT$ (£4,500). He has had only a primary school education but his income is far beyond an average Taiwanese worker with a higher education background. No wonder most of the Ami building workers are proud of their jobs. They liked to remind me that only strong men like them can do this kind of hard work and earn such high wages (which include a lot of overtime).[4] Another reason for their happiness with their working conditions is that they can come back to their home village any time, especially during *ilisin* or other ceremonies, without taking the risk of losing their jobs.

Due to increased levels of emigration since the 1970s, contact with the Chinese has increased, especially among the younger generation who spend most of their time in the cities. Consequently, more and more Chinese cultural elements have been accepted by them and brought back to the village. In ceremonies, such as weddings, funerals and even *ilisin* (their most important new year ceremony) many Chinese cultural elements have already been adopted.[5]

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[3] This survey was carried out by the Directorate-General Statistics of the government and released on October 28th 1994. I got the data from The Central Daily News (international edition) October 30th 1994.

[4] On one occasion, a local Chinese confessed to me that only a small number of Taiwanese from a farming background (like the Ami) were physically strong enough to be building constructors.

[5] Sometimes, but not very often, some Ami even consult their Chinese friends about the Chinese lunar calendar to decide the date for a ceremony.

In other words, from daily village life alone, one can not easily distinguish the Ami from the Chinese. Many people, including Chinese scholars and even some Ami people, therefore believe that the Ami are disappearing because they have lost almost all their traditional culture. However, the Ami in Iwan have a different view which I will discuss in this chapter. I shall consider the influence of Christianity on Ami society or how this religion is articulated within their social context.

8.2 Catholics and Presbyterians in the 90s

During my fieldwork, between October 1992 and July 1993, I found that the differences between the behaviour patterns of the Catholic and Presbyterian Ami in Iwan was significant.

The first comparison focuses on Sunday worship. According to my fieldwork data, except on some special occasions, such as the Chinese new year and the *ilisin* (Ami's new year ceremony), when many emigrants come back to the village and most of them go to the church, the numbers of Catholic church goers is between 25 and 51. These figures are to some extent decided by who says the Sunday mass. As has been mentioned earlier, the Iwan Catholic Parish has a Swiss father (Father Dominik Steiner referred to as Ontok) who lives in Iwan but is also in charge of eight other nearby Ami villages[6]. If the Sunday mass is said by him, then the number of attendants will be larger, with about 50-60% of the Catholics in the village going to church. But very often Father Ontok has to say mass in other villages and on such occasions the Iwan liturgy will be performed by a local voluntary apostle, Dipon, who was trained as a

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[6] The Swiss Father Ontok was 78 in 1992. He retired several years ago and another Swiss Father, Ayam, has been officially appointed as the father of the Iwan Parish. However, because there is a great shortage of qualified priests in Hwalyan Diocese, Ayam has to support other parishes from time to time. Therefore, for most of the time, Ontok takes responsibility for looking after the believers of the Iwan Parish.

voluntary apostle about ten years ago[7]. Early each Sunday morning, an announcement through a loudspeaker reminds villagers to attend Sunday worship and inform them who is going to proside the liturgy on that particular morning. If the Swiss father is absent, the Sunday attendance usually drops rapidly; sometimes less than 30% of the Catholics go to church.[8] Many informants say that the most important part of the mass is communion, i.e. eating the bread and drinking the wine. In their opinion a ritual conducted by a Swiss father is more effective than that by an Ami voluntary apostle. I find that for many Catholic Ami, Christianity is still seen as a religion of the whites and in their view, a European priest is definitely more competent than an Ami one. Furthermore, they all know that there is a hierarchical rank among the Catholic priests: the pope being the highest among them, then come the archbishops, the bishops, the priests, and the the voluntary apostles. On many occasions when Dipon conducts the liturgy, people correct his pronunciation impatiently while he is reading passages in the Ami language. But when the Swiss father says the mass, this never happens, although the Swiss father's Ami pronunciation is not as good as that of Dipon. This reaction to Dipon can explained with reference to the local political struggle. Dipon was the village head in 1992. He was born in Ta'man, a nearby village, and moved to Iwan after his marriage to Akiyo, a woman of Cilagasan clan. He also became a *faki* (mother's brother) in Sadipogan clan through a *palatapag* ceremony (see Chapter 2). Because he had the full support from these kin groups he became a village head (*komog*) in 1989. However, I knew that many people were dissatisfied with his leadership and had tried to challenge him on many occasions.

Although the number of worshippers at Sunday service is smaller in the Presbyterian church, the ratio of church-goers among its believers is much higher. For most of the time the number of Presbyterian church-goers is 12; that means 100% of

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[7] Voluntary apostle is a literal translation of a Chinese term i u sh tu. There are three other voluntary apostles in Iwan but they are all female.

[8] Many Catholic informants report that every Sunday service only one representative from their household goes to church. For them the participation in church matters is not concerned with individual faith but is a gesture demonstrating their household's loyalty to the church.

the Presbyterians in Iwan go to church on Sunday. Only occasionally are one or two members absent; usually because he/she has gone to western Taiwan to visit relatives. Since 1967, there has been no presiding minister in Iwan because the Presbyterian Church is too small and cannot justify and support an ordained minister of its own. Since then, for most of the time Holikawa, who was elected as elder in 1950, leads his fellow believers in the worship of God. Sometimes a retired minister, Mayaw, who originally came from Vata'an to help with the Rev. Lwo's evangelical work amongst the coastal Ami villages and who has lived in a nearby village since his retirement, will conduct the Sunday service. This duty is also occasionally fulfilled by a visiting minister from Hwalyan or elsewhere. However, no matter who is in charge the attendance is rarely affected.

The degree of believers' involvement also deserves attention. Almost all Presbyterians bring their own bibles and hymn books to their church[9], but only a small proportion of Catholics do likewise. On the Catholic side, the theme and the content of each Sunday worship is determined by a special Catholic ritual calendar. In each Sunday mass, the decision about which hymns and prayers are used lies beyond the control of the local believers. Although some devout believers come to church to practise the hymns beforehand under the instruction of a voluntary apostle, Nakaw, or a nun from a local convent (the Saint Martha Institute)[10], the congregation seldom sing the hymns properly during the mass. On the other hand, the local Presbyterian church has more freedom in deciding the theme and content of a Sunday service although a guide-line is given by the General Assembly of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church. In Iwan, the choice of hymns and themes in Presbyterian Sunday worship is mainly decided by all its believers under the leadership of the only elder, Holikawa. When the Presbyterians sing a hymn, rather than just sing it once as the Catholics do, they repeat

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9 Some of them even have notebooks to take down important messages during the sermon.

10 The headquarters of this convent is in Hwalyan and its Iwan branch was founded in 1969. In 1993, there were five nuns living there, all of them are Ami. One nun helped in Sunday services and the other four were running a nursery in Chenggung.

it again and again until all the believers can sing it heartily without looking at the hymn book. Their way of praying is even more impressive. Usually the Catholic priest asks someone who can read the Romanised Ami scripts to read the prayers, which have been chosen and translated into Ami language by the authorities but sometimes they pray in their own words. During prayer the pitch of their voices is flat and smooth, similar to their daily communication, although the volume is higher. The Presbyterians pray in a very different way. When the person in charge of the ritual says: now let's pray, all the believers stand up immediately, and then closing their eyes, and pressing their hands together before their chests, they pray loudly together. Rather than using a routine prayer, everyone prays in his/her own words[11]. They pray so heartily that every time I attended their Sunday worship I saw people crying. The manner of praying in these two churches is so different that the Catholics often accuse the Presbyterians of being too emotional. On the other hand, the Presbyterians criticise the Catholics for a lack of passion.

In addition to the Sunday worship, the Presbyterians have more regular weekly church activities than the Catholics. Every Wednesday evening, all the Presbyterians gather in one of their fellow believer's houses for household worship (chia tin li bay). Which household will host the meeting is decided by the congregation. However, if any household has a special need, for example sickness or other misfortune has happened to a family member, the Wednesday evening worship can take place in the household which deserves or needs a special blessing, and all the Presbyterians will pray for mercy for this household. Every Friday evening, there is an evening prayer (wan taw) in the church. Believers go to church to pray freely. No formal ritual is carried out but participants sit on the chairs or kneel down and pray individually. The number of believers who come for this evening prayer is between five and seven. The

11 I was told that the purpose of this prayer was to confess one's sins and ask for forgiveness from their god.

Presbyterians have more frequent church activities than the Catholic church which does not have weekly worship outside the Sunday service.[12]

While the Presbyterians tend to act collectively, requesting cures for the sick and relief for those affected by misfortune[13], the Catholics depend mainly on specialists to make these requests on their behalf. The majority of Catholics believe that the most powerful rite is the one conducted by the Swiss father, the second most powerful one is by his Ami assistant Dipon, and then by another voluntary apostle Nakaw.[14] These three persons are most often summoned by believers to do a *minoli* ritual. The household which asks for the *minoli* service will give some reward, very often cash, to the specialist. This is why many villagers see priests of the Roman Catholic Church as a new group of local healers.

Three female groups are also very often called by households to pray for the sick or those who have experienced misfortune. In the initial stage of the adoption of Christianity, some female traditional healers abandoned their protecting gods/goddesses and accepted Roman Catholicism. Afterwhich they were organised by the church to pray for good fortune because many villagers thought that their prayers were more effective than those of ordinary people. This group was called the Holy Mother Group[15]. Any household could ask them for help when the Swiss father was not available. They were treated to soft drinks or sweets after they had completed their duties. When the members of this group were getting old, another group was organised from among the younger female Catholics called the Saint Lucia Group (*siglukakay*). Later, the Saint Anna Group (*sigannakay*) was also organised with

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12 In the Catholic Church, apart from these two, there are many other liturgical festivals such as Pentecost, Ascension, Holy Week etc.

13 Both the Presbyterians and the Catholics call this kind of ritual *minoli*, which means to make (*mi-*) a prayer (*noli*).

14 The Catholic Ami tend to see those church workers as *cikawasay* (local healer). They also think that church workers have different levels of ritual knowledge, just like the traditional healers did.

15 In Ami language it is called *sigpukay*. All the pronunciations of this kind of group are borrowed from Japanese.

Maro' as its leader. To date, there are three groups of this kind in Iwan.[16] Asala said that these female groups are a mixture of traditional local healers and the male age-group organisation. For example, the household which has asked a certain group for prayer will ask another group to pray if the first prayer does not bring good fortune, just as the Ami changed traditional healer groups in the past. In many activities of the Catholic Church, these female groups function like the male age-group organisation such as in assigning labour and distributing food.

Even outside church activities, it is very easy to distinguish the Presbyterians from the majority of Catholics. For example, on a whole, the houses of Presbyterian families are humbler than those of Catholics.[17] In other words while the Catholics' houses are normally two storeys, the Presbyterians' are one storey or sometimes even old ones in the Japanese style. Both Presbyterians' and Catholics' houses have places to hang the Cross (the Crucifix to Catholics) and shelves to place candle sticks. However, while in a Catholic's house, pictures of movie stars or scenery of other countries can be seen frequently; in a Presbyterian house the pictures and other decorations are dominated by religious themes.

Nowadays, almost every family in Iwan has a cassette player. I noticed that in the houses of the Presbyterians, most of the tapes are of music related to the church, only a few of them being popular Chinese music. But in the houses of the Catholic families, Ami musical tapes dominate and Chinese popular music come second. To my knowledge only two Catholic houses have tapes of church music.

Video tapes also show the same tendency. To date, about a third of the families in Iwan have video players. Among Catholic families, most videos show themes of traditional Ami singing and dancing, such as in the new year ceremony (*ilisin*) in their

16 This kind of group is also found in other Ami villages, such as in Vakong (Yamaji, 1991).

17 This is not for economic reasons. I find the Presbyterians in the village tend to live a humble life according to their belief.

village or competitions and demonstrations of this kind held elsewhere[18]. Very often they have one or two tapes featuring Japanese soldiers' songs or Japanese style wrestling which are also popular among the local Chinese families. Only one Catholic family has a few tapes related to bible stories[19]. However, among the Presbyterian families which have video players, almost all the tapes are related to bible stories. One night when I visited Holikawa, the elder of the Presbyterian Church, he showed me a series of bible stories on six tapes. In addition to this, there were The Ten Commandments, Benhur and so on in the cabinet. Upon finding two tapes of Japanese soldiers' songs in the cabinet, he seemed ashamed and immediately hid these two away from my sight.

Almost all Catholics like drinking alcohol, smoking and chewing betel, especially when they gather together. It has been mentioned that wine, betel quids and tobacco were very precious and were used as marriage payments in the past. They are still used by many Ami households to entertain their guests. In a kinship or village gathering occasion, these three items are essential. However, almost all the Presbyterian Ami refuse to drink alcohol or chew betel.[20] And so far as I know, in Iwan only one female Presbyterian smokes.

These two Christian groups also show different attitudes toward traditional Ami culture. The best example of this is participation in the new year ceremony *ilisin*. In this ceremony all the participants have to wear the Ami's traditional costumes and dance in the traditional way. While most of the Catholics are delighted to join this ceremony, the Presbyterians insist that both wearing traditional costumes and singing and dancing

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[18] In Chenggung and in Taidung, there are many photographers, both Chinese and Ami, who will take any opportunity to film the Ami's singing and dancing. They make money by selling the tapes to the Ami. The price for each tape is between £7-£12.

[19] This family is one of the two from which Ami ordained priests come.

[20] Burt (1982) observes that among the Kwara'ae of Malaita, a Melanesian society, some people have converted to certain fundamentalist missions, such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Remnant Church. These converts are not allowed to smoke or chew betel quids, because they are acts "which symbolize an antisocial craving for worldly pleasures" (*ibid.*:384).

in the traditional way are unacceptable and they refuse to join in. Apart from the new year ceremony, the Catholics also celebrate house-warmings, birthdays and weddings where kin gather together with traditional singing and dancing. However, the Presbyterians either avoid participating in these festivals or just sit quietly if they are obliged to attend. Most of the time, the Presbyterians listen to church music, watch TV, or just chat during their leisure time.

The aforementioned comparisons suggest that the meaning of Christianity is different for the Presbyterians and for the Catholics. For the Catholics, being more keen on maintaining Ami traditions such as singing and dancing, the role of Christianity in their social life is the same as that of traditional religion in pre-Christian society. In other words, they have a more practical attitude toward religion and their Christianity tends to be more this-worldly (cf. Peel, 1968b).

I do not mean that the Presbyterians do not expect practical benefits from their religion. In fact, when a household in Iwan, whether Catholic or Presbyterian, has rebuilt or refurbished a house, a ritual of blessing is performed. Informants (including Asala, Maro' and Holikawa) explained that without this ritual people could not live in the house with peace of mind. Similarly, when a villager, again either Catholic or Presbyterian, buys a new car or motorcycle, a simple ritual of blessing will be conducted to bring its owner good luck. Furthermore, for both Catholics and Presbyterians, the wish to use ritual to ensure a healthy life is almost the same.[21]

Evidence shows that the Presbyterians devote themselves to Church activities more than the Catholics do. For example, they spend a much longer time than the Catholics on church matters, and their average donations are higher than those of the Catholics. More importantly, compared with the Catholics, the Presbyterians have a stronger concern for eternal salvation. Thus apart from simply pursuing practical welfare, an other-worldly religion has emerged among the Presbyterians of Iwan.

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[21] Nowadays, because their income mainly comes from working outside the village in manual labour, they are very concerned to maintain good health.

These tendencies are reflected in their daily greetings. When the Catholics greet each other they always say: god bless you (tyanju bauyou in Chinese). Here the focus of the greeting is the human being (you) rather than the supernatural being (god). Interestingly, among the Presbyterian Ami, as well as greeting each other with god bless you, very often they greet each other with Hallelujah, meaning praise the lord, the focus of this greeting is god rather than people themselves.

All the comparisons in this section are based on my findings in Iwan and do not necessarily apply to other Ami villages. In fact, although the findings are basically the same in respect of the Catholic Ami both in Iwan and in other nearby Ami villages, there are some significant differences among the Presbyterians. How the two churches both in Iwan and in Taiwan as a whole, developed after 1960 has been discussed in the previous chapter. The consequences of this development will be further elaborated in the following sections.

8.3 Present-day household ceremonies

Nowadays, a large-scale household ceremony, such as a wedding, a house-warming or a funeral, takes three full days.[22] During this period, all relatives currently living in Iwan are obliged to gather at the household concerned every day. The close kin, even those who are working in urban areas, are expected to come back and join in.

Usually on the first day, a pig is killed in the traditional way by experienced men and it is shared among all the kin at the evening meal. Other relatives either help to do the preparation work for the ceremony, such as setting up the platform for the singing programme held on the second day or cooking lunch and supper for all

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22 When a ceremony of this kind is held in a Presbyterian family, normally rather than wine and betel quids only fresh water and soft drinks are served. Very often the traditional singing and dancing on the last day is also omitted. Thus their Catholic kin are reluctant to join in it because it is dull. Therefore the whole ceremony takes a shorter time than usual.

participants. All duties are basically allocated in a traditional manner— the older you are the lighter the work which is assigned to you. Very often the elderly just sit and chat if there is not a shortage of manpower. The second day is the busiest day. A Christian ritual is held in the morning and guests both from the village and outside are invited for a lunch time feast. Then on the third day comes the *paklag* ceremony to end the whole ritual. Here tidying up is the major task and fish is the most important food item. It is either caught by the young relatives[23] or bought from the market. After the meal, in the case of a wedding, birthday or house-warming, traditional singing and dancing take place to celebrate the event.

The second day is also the most important day and here the Chinese influence is quite obvious. For example, in a wedding, house warming or funeral, a Chinese style feast is provided by the household concerned. Very often, this household will ask a catering company to help it organise this feast.[24] In addition to renting the round tables and stools to the household, the main business of the catering company is the preparation of the Chinese style dishes for the feast. Some times the boss, who is in fact the chef of the company, even helps the household without extra charge to write the invitation cards, which are normally written in Chinese characters which most Ami can not manage[25]. Guests for their part have to bring some cash to the feast. The money, following Chinese custom, is put into a red envelope at a wedding or house-warming party and a white envelope at a funeral. The name of the guest, usually the head of a household, is written on the front of the envelope and sometimes accompanied by a few words of congratulations or comfort. In a corner of the feast, the host household will set a reception table, where one or two trustworthy relatives will sit and receive the gifts from the guests. The names of the guests and the amount of money they bring will be recorded in a specially designed book which has to be bought in Chenggung

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23 A local Chinese family owns a fish farm beside the Iwan Brook. Many villagers pay to fish there.

24 There are at least four such companies working in Iwan and its nearby areas. They are all run by Chinese.

25 Most of the elderly Ami have difficulty in writing Chinese characters and they are not interested in their relatives', friends' or neighbours' Chinese names.

beforehand. All the names of guests and the amount of money given is recorded in Chinese writing.

Furthermore, at a wedding or house-warming ceremony, a programme of singing, and sometimes dancing, will be included. On the second day of the ceremony, the host household[26] sets up a platform on the edge of the place where the feast will take place and an organiser has to be chosen to arrange the whole programme. Good command of Mandarin Chinese is an essential requirement to do this job today. The programme organiser may be called upon to sing a song[27] but most of the time, the singers are local young people, very often females, and the songs are predominantly Chinese pop music. In some cases, the host household pays for some semi-professional singers or more often a musical band will be hired for the day[28] to make the feast more enjoyable. If the food is not as good as expected or the singing programme is unsatisfactory, the host will be criticised as mean. On the other hand, if the money from a guest is far smaller than expected, the hosts might feel unhappy (but they will usually keep their feelings to themselves). The hosts will do their best to avoid being criticised but some profit is also expected after all the expenditure has been deducted from the total income from the guests.[29]

Although the influence of the Chinese in these ceremonies is obvious, the continuity of Ami tradition is significant too. For example, at a wedding, all the bridegroom's age mates (*kapot*) in the age-group organisation are his potential best-men. Therefore in a wedding very often there are several best-men, sometimes even

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26 In the case of a wedding ceremony nowadays, normally, it means the bridegroom's household.

27 In Iwan the role of organiser is very often played by a female, especially by Maro' who is very active at large gatherings.

28 There is a one-man band owned by a man born in Iwan. He lives in Tawyuan and gives many performances there. He once told me that the fee to cover for his services was 8,000 NT$ (£200) per day. I was told by others that there were over ten bands of this kind owned by the Ami but I only saw three of them.

29 I was asked to be the treasurer on three occasions. On one occasion, a house-warming ceremony, the total amount of cash from the guests was 206,050 NT$ (£5,150). The average money from a guest was roughly 1,000 NT$ (£25).

more than twenty. The groom's age mates are expected to give some presents to the new couple collectively.[30] At the wedding feast, some seats are reserved for these guests. If a member of this group cannot come personally, one of his relatives has to be present on his behalf. In the wedding feast, while other guests are waiting at the place where the feast is to be served[31], the bridegroom stays with all his age mates in another house. Then, accompanied by an age mate, the groom, at the front of a parade, goes to the feast. In this parade, while some of his mates hold the presents given by the whole group[32], another one sets off fireworks to inform the assembled guests that they are approaching. Before they are all seated, the crowd applaud and cheer. My informants, including Dafak, Asala and Maro', said that according to their custom, the feast should not start before the arrival of the groom's age mates.

At a funeral, a unique custom is still practised. After the burial ritual (usually on the second day) and before the *paklag* ceremony (usually on the third day), there is a *michog* ceremony. In this ceremony, the descendants of the dead person are guided by a senior relative to the households which have kinship relations with them.

The *paklag* is one of the important pre-Christian elements which are still practised. In the past, *paklag* was a ceremony to separate ritual context and ordinary context: after the *paklag* all prohibitions in force during the ritual period were lifted and social life returned to normal. Although recently the Ami have adopted a new term *wankag* (lit. finishing work) from Taiwanese[33], they still see this ceremony as being

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30 Normally each age mate hands in 1,000-2,000 NT$ (£25-50) to a member who is responsible for this matter. He then buys something the new couple suggested. Sometimes they buy nothing but just bring all the cash from age mates to the wedding feast.

31 Usually the open ground in front of the host household is used. If a larger room is needed, the common playground near the credit union office can be rented.

32 If a present is too heavy to be carried easily a piece of red paper with the name of the present will be carried instead.

33 In the past *paklag* had a strong religious meaning. After the Ami's conversion to Christianity, the religious aspect of *paklag* has diminished gradually. The adoption of the new term *wankag* from the Taiwanese reflects this trend. However, there are still some elderly people who insist on calling this activity *paklag* and see it as containing religious meaning.

purely Ami and use it as a symbolic boundary (see Cohen,1985) to distinguish themselves from the Chinese. This is especially important among the Catholic Ami. I will discuss this later in this chapter.

8.4 An analysis of *ilisin* [34]

Aboriginal singing and dancing has become very prominent over the past few years in Taiwan. The images of aborigines dressed in their traditional costumes, singing and dancing in their traditional ways appear to be the typical features of Taiwanese aboriginality to most of the Chinese. The *ilisin* of the Ami is by far the most widely known among them.

The common Chinese translation for *ilisin* is feng nyan ji, meaning harvest festival. The many variations of *ilisin* are all called feng nyan ji. The traditional *ilisin* was held by each independent Ami village every year in July or August. Although the ceremony's structure and meaning were basically the same for all villages, each village had the final decision on the choice of date and the duration of its *ilisin*. After the Ami's conversion to Christianity, only a village with an overwhelming Catholic majority, such as Iwan and its nearby villages Ta'man and Kinaluka, retained the basic structure of the traditional *ilisin*. I will call this kind of *ilisin* a traditional type. A significant feature of this type of *ilisin* is that the age-group organisation is the organiser of all the activities. The budget for the activities is mainly collected from members of the age-group organisation. Usually, this type of *ilisin* lasts at least four days. On the first night the singing and dancing is exclusively performed by the age-group organisation from nightfall (about seven in the evening) till midnight (some villages, such as Kinaluka, even end it in the following morning). On the second day, the dancing and singing normally begins at nine o'clock in the morning and ends at five in

[34] I have discussed this topic with Mr. Kuei-chou Huang (Lifok). I must thank him for providing me with some valuable information.

the afternoon and all the villagers can join in. On the final day of the ceremony, a *paklag* is performed to conclude the activities. Some taboos (*paysin*) are still observed by the villagers, such as, women and children are not allowed to participate in the singing and dancing of the first night; that is exclusively performed by the members of the male age-group organisation. If several unusual misfortunes happen in the villages after an *ilisin*, then they might think that the *ilisin* has been performed wrongly and repeat the ceremony again. This happened in Ta'man and Cidatayal recently. Clearly, the traditional type *ilisin* has a particular significance for some Catholic Ami in that it involves certain pre-Christian ideas.

Under the Japanese rule a new type of *ilisin* emerged among many Ami villages, especially those in Hwalyan County. I will call this type of *ilisin* the modified type. A special committee in each village replaced the age-group organisation to organise the Ami's new year ceremony. Apart from village leaders, teachers and civil servants, not only Ami but sometimes also Chinese, were on the committee. Nowadays this kind of *ilisin* usually takes place in the playground of a local school. While the members of the committee and VIPs from wider society sit on a platform in front of a flag pole, other participants sit on two sides of the playground and the singing and dancing takes place in the centre of the playground. The *ilisin* celebrations at Vata'an and Tafalog are two examples of this modified type. Usually this kind of *ilisin* lasts three or four days.

The modified type of *ilisin* was not affected by the Ami's religious conversion or by the break-up of the age-group organisation in each village. Rather it has become the prototype for the cooperation of several Ami villages in a united *ilisin*. Sometimes the Ami even co-operate with other aboriginal groups in a united harvest festival held by the local government. For some traditional-minded Ami, both the modified and the united *ilisin* are unacceptable. In their opinion, each village should have its own *ilisin.*

Two other *ilisin* types have emerged since the 1950s. In some Ami villages, especially in the Taidung County, the majority of villagers are members of the True Jesus Church or the Presbyterian Church, both of which forbid believers to participate

in the traditional *ilisin*. Without an age-group organisation to organise the *ilisin*, the minority Catholics organise their own activities and welcome other villagers to join in. In addition to some traditional singing and dancing, other programmes, such as singing and speech competitions, are also included. Normally this *ilisin* only lasts for one day and a school playground is used. An important feature of this *ilisin* is that all of the performances are held on the platform and the audience sits on the chairs in the playground with the VIPs in the centre-front seats. Since this kind of *ilisin* is mainly to celebrate the new year and has no religious meaning, I call it an entertainment type.

Urban *ilisin* are usually based on the modified type.[35] The urban Ami come from different villages. They elect a leader whose most important duty is to organise an *ilisin* for them. Normally this *ilisin* involves singing, dancing and various competitions. The leader, his staff and guests sit on the platform just as in the modified *ilisin*. The rest of the participants sit in the playground and form a semi-circle. Very often, this ceremony takes place in October when there are many national holidays from work or school.[36] Usually only one day is set aside for the ceremony.

The variation and development of *ilisin* shows the creativity of Ami culture. It also reflects the fragmentation of Ami society. In pre-Christian Ami society, the age-group organisation was an essential institution in terms of village unity. In the past, each man had the right and the obligation to join this organisation and be involved with village activities. The age-group organisation actually symbolised the unity of the whole village. It dominated village life and any villager's individuality had to be subject to it. Even now in the traditional type *ilisin*, all members of the age-group organisation have to sit according to their relative ages. The head of the village does not have a special seat but sits with his age-mates. Even a VIP from the outside world has to sit with the group equal to his age if he wants to join in the *ilisin*.

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35 The Ami migration to urban areas started in 1970s (see Chapter 7). I call the Ami who are living in cities urban Ami and call their new year ceremony urban *ilisin*.

36 Another consideration is that these Ami emigrants can come back to their home villages for *ilisin* which are normally held in July or August.

The operation of the age-group organisation was to some extent based on the idea of equal access to opportunity for all the male villagers. When the Ami's contacts with the outside world increased, differences among the villagers widened. Different achievements in education and work as well as the adoption of different Christian faiths all created diversified interests among the Ami. The collapse of the age-group organisation symbolised the disunity of an Ami village. In a village, if its age-group organisation collapsed before the arrival of Christianity, then no single denomination became the majority. By contrast, where the age-group organisation persisted until the arrival of Christianity, then the whole village would tend to accept one denomination, usually the Roman Catholic Church, although there would be some adjustment in the overall structure of the age-group organisation.

The age-group organisation still organises the annual *ilisin* in some villages. In these villages, members of the organisation have to pay a certain amount of money to the responsible group and participation in the *ilisin* is compulsory. Any one who fails to join in this ceremony is fined. Therefore most of the young men come back from western or northern Taiwan to celebrate the new year and to avoid punishment. However, now that almost all the younger generation have gone to urban areas for waged work, the age-group organisation is only a small part of village tradition and its strict regulation faces more and more challenges. For example, in Iwan, some Presbyterian Ami families refuse to pay the fines for their sons' absence at the ceremony and claim that their sons have moved out of Iwan and are separated from their natal families. The ceremony's organisers might become angry but they can do nothing about this. In 1992, even a Catholic household refused to pay the fines by using the same excuse as the Presbyterians. A young man from another Catholic family complained to me that, "Time is money, who can afford to leave their work for a whole week?"

Given these kinds of problems, the modified type *ilisin* has become more and more popular in recent years. This kind of *ilisin* is very often promoted by the Ami who are interested in mainstream Taiwanese politics. In order to attract all possible

participants to an *ilisin* promoted by them the connection between the *ilisin* and religion is avoided. For example, they tend to translate *ilisin* into Chinese as feng nyan jye (harvest festival) or gan en jye (thanksgiving festival). Thus the word with religious meaning (ji) is replaced by another word without it (jye). Furthermore the traditional one-village-one-worshipping-community custom is intentionally lifted. For the majority of Ami, this kind of *ilisin* is an expression of their ethnic identity rather than village identity, especially when many Chinese tourists and journalists are watching them. For the organisers, this activity is also a political arena. They not only mobilise their supporters to join in the activity, but also compete with each other in seeking posts on the committee. This reminds us that: "Self-conscious reflection about one's own culture is certainly intensified where perceived cultural or ethnic differences are politicized" (Linnekin,1992:253).

Most importantly, the heads of various local governments, most of the time the Chinese, will be invited as guests to this type of *ilisin*. Sometimes, they will participate in the occasion personally and will dance with the people for a while. Otherwise, they will send a representative. In any case, some cash or a material gift will be given by them. The Ami's intention to incorporate their *ilisin* within wider society is quite obvious. In 1989, I came to Vata'an to watch their *ilisin*. The political orientation of this *ilisin* reached its climax when one of the committee members read a letter (of course in Chinese!) to express the villagers' loyalty to the President of the country.[37]

This kind of situation also occurs among the urban Ami. In the urban areas, the Ami leaders usually hold a linking position between the government and the Ami people. In order to enlarge the number of their supporters, the leaders tend to ignore village identity and re-organise the Ami into political units. The *ilisin* is the most important arena in which these leaders can mobilise popular support. For most of the Ami, their participation in the *ilisin* is an expression of their satisfaction with their leaders and the policies of the government. When they are unhappy with either one of them, they will refuse to join in the *ilisin* organised by their leaders.

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[37] In return the Chinese Nationalist Party might nominate the committee members for election.

The attitude of the church is an important factor in an Ami's decision whether or not to join the *ilisin.* At one end of the spectrum, almost all Catholics like to participate in the *ilisin*, no matter whether in their home villages or in the urban areas. Although most of the urban Catholic Ami do not come to the church for Sunday worship, this does not imply that these Catholic Ami have abandoned Catholicism. In fact they still see their home villages as their roots and see their own churches as being in their home villages even if they live in the urban areas. Therefore, they come back to their home villages for *ilisin* every year and very often when they come back they go to church. At the other end is the True Jesus Church, whose followers believe that the *ilisin* is a relic of Ami pre-Christian pagan belief. To them it is also a symbol of the backwardness of the Ami, and they refuse to be involved with any aspect of the *ilisin.*

Presbyterians are in the middle of the spectrum. Among the conservative Presbyterian Ami and the Presbyterians who go to the Prayer Mountain, the attitude toward *ilisin* is similar to that held by the True Jesus Church. In other words, they see it as being associated with evil spirits and refuse to join it. However, since the indigenisation movement of the Taiwanese Presbyterian Church, many Ami ministers and elders have become more and more concerned with the ways that *ilisin* could be manipulated and have begun to reconsider the meaning of the *ilisin.* Now the church authorities encourage their believers to join the *ilisin,* as long as they feel it has nothing to do with worshipping evil spirits. Many Ami villages started recently to revive their *ilisin* under the influence of this current thinking. However, there are still many believers, and even some conservative ministers, who question this change. Up to 1993 the Presbyterian Ami had set up 29 churches in western Taiwan. Although many churches face the crisis of a division, between the believers who go to the Prayer Mountain and those who do not, the development of Presbyterian Church is a crucial factor in the fate of *ilisin.*

For the Chinese, the participation in *ilisin* has many different purposes. The first one arises from curiosity. Because aboriginal societies are still mysterious and exotic for them, they like to take opportunities to participate in the Ami's *ilisin* for

personal experience. I met many tourists who came to Iwan for this reason. Another purpose is concerned with political or economic considerations. For example, in Iwan some local Chinese merchants give cash, wine or tobacco and so on to the organisers of the *ilisin*. Then they come and join the *ilisin* at the time when the Ami villagers are entertaining their guests (*pililafagan*). They need not dress as the Ami do. If they like they can join in the singing and dancing. But if they do not, they can just sit and eat the foods of the feast, which are cooked in Chinese style, and provided by the organisers. Many outsiders come before the feast begins, give a present to the organisers, share in the feast and then leave. This is the most common way for the Chinese, and some Ami with political ambitions from other villages, to join a traditional *ilisin*. A Chinese merchant in Iwan (C. M. Huang, see Introduction) told me that if he failed to attend the *ilisin* feast, the Ami would be annoyed and no longer visit his shop. School headmasters and heads of local public clinics will come personally or send a representative to show their respect for Ami tradition in order to achieve the Ami's co-operation. These outsiders can join in other types of *ilisin* in a similar manner and sit on the seats reserved for the VIPs throughout the entire activity[38].

In the past few years, the governments, including the local jen government (Chenggung Township) and the East Coast National Scenic Area Administration (a branch of the Tourism Bureau of central government set up on June 1st 1988), donated a certain amount of money to promote the traditional Ami culture[39]. However, the underlying reasons for the government's donations are very complicated. For example, from personal communications I found that some Chinese officials intend to promote the *ilisin* activities to attract tourists to visit eastern Taiwan. The Chinese governors also want to show their goodwill toward the aborigines through their donations to or

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38 For the Ami in Iwan, they classify outsiders in *ilisin* rituals into three categories: those complete outsiders who have nothing to do with the village, those who bring a gift and come as guests, and those who participate in the activities as the majority of villagers do. Kinship connections with a particular Iwan household are essential to be accepted as a person belonging to the last category.

39 In 1993, the Chenggung Township government donated 8,000 NT$ (£200) and the East Coast National Scenic Area Administration 15,000 NT$ (£375) to the *ilisin* in Iwan.

their participation in these kinds of activities. Furthermore, the celebration of the *ilisin* serves as evidence that the aborigines are living in prosperous conditions under the ruling government, consequently the Chinese governors like to see that the *ilisin* takes place every year.

8.5 Articulations and individual interests

Most of the Catholic Ami, who are the majority both in Iwan and among the Ami as a whole, are not particularly enthusiastic about church activities. What is really important for them is that, there shall be a blessing from the priest at every important occasion, such as at weddings, funerals or house-warming ceremonies. To some extent, the Presbyterian Ami also have the same kind of attitude to religion. For example, they have many rituals concerned with health and prosperity. In other words, the pursuit of general well-being and material benefit is central to the Ami. Religion is a means, or a method, for them to ensure the achievement of this goal. Religion is best viewed from a local perspective in which it is more concerned with the search for material benefits than with any abstract notions.

Because the Presbyterians devote themselves to Church activities more than the Catholics do, their knowledge about the contents of the bible is much greater than that of the Catholics. They hold a view that all human beings are descendants of Adam and Eve, which many Catholics do not take seriously. Furthermore, compared with the Catholics, they tend to see the Christian god as the lord of all human beings.

For the Presbyterians, their religion is a common bond that can cross-cut ethnic boundaries.[40] For them, to be a Christian is more important than being a member of a

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40 This is shown in their attitude towards other peoples. Most Catholics look down upon other aboriginal groups. Many of them told me that if they (or their children) could not find an Ami spouse, they preferred marrying Chinese, Japanese or Europeans rather than other Taiwanese aborigines. Compared with Catholics, Presbyterians are more willing to marry aborigines from other groups.

kin group or village. As I said before, as a whole compared with their Catholic fellow villagers, the Presbyterians live humbler lives. For them, the practice of certain traditional elements in ceremonies, such as singing and dancing, is only done to fulfil social obligations[41] and is not so important in the expression of their cultural identity as it is for the Catholics. This can be also seen in their attitude toward the Ami's traditional new year ceremony (*ilisin*). Many Catholics like to criticise the Presbyterians for their lack of enthusiasm towards traditional ceremony. However, for the latter, their cultural identity is mainly focused upon their use of Ami language, which has been preserved and utilised more effectively in their Church than in the Catholic Church. In this way the different preoccupations of the churches are reflected in different attitudes towards Ami tradition.[42]

I find that not only in Iwan but also in cities the Ami Christians tend to see Christianity as the most advanced religion in the world. Consequently they claim that they are more advanced than most Chinese who are still believing in Buddhism or the Chinese folk religion. On many occasions they show that they are very proud of their religion. For example, many of them liked to remind me that the highest leaders of the

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41 Thus in urban areas Presbyterians (originally from Iwan) tend to avoid doing all these activities.

42 This difference is even more significant beyond the village level. For example, in urban areas the Catholic Ami like to gather together for birthdays, weddings and house-warming celebrations as well as *ilisin*. They also enjoy the *paklag* ceremony, during which they slaughter a pig in the traditional way and share it among the participants. Many Catholics emphasise that traditional dancing, singing and *paklag* are the most important elements of the Ami tradition. They thus criticise the believers of the True Jesus Church and the Presbyterian Church, saying that without practising these activities, they cannot call themselves Ami. Ironically, the participants of these activities are all over thirty. Almost all the teenagers and children from Catholic families prefer disco and rock music rather than the Ami's traditional singing and dancing. The younger Ami generation, especially those under twenty who were born and brought up in cities, like McDonalds, movies, TV and computer games and are just like their Chinese contemporaries. I rarely found a teenager or child from a Catholic family who could speak fluent Ami. But I found many children from the Presbyterian or the True Jesus Church who could speak very good Ami. Probably, this could be attributed to their family's religious devotion. Because the parents went to church regularly, their children all went to Sunday school, where Ami language was used, so the children could learn and practise the Ami language outside their school education.

ruling party and the government, such as Sung Yat-sen (National Father of the Republic of China), Chiang Kai-shek (late President of the ROC) were all Christians. Even the ruling president, Li Teng-huei, is a Christian. From time to time, I heard the villagers of Iwan criticising the Ami in Falagaw, an Ami village near Taidung, as silly, because the people of Iwan were puzzled by the fact that many Ami in Falagaw have accepted the Chinese religion. When this kind of comment is made by Catholics, very often the superiority of the religion of the whites and its causal relation to the Ami's economic improvement is highlighted. The sucess of Christian Chinese politicians is also attributed, by the Catholic Ami, to the potency of the religion of the whites. On the other hand, the Presbyterians usually associate this kind of comment with the universality of Christianity and see conversion to it as morally correct.

Clearly the meanings attached to Christianity, Ami tradition and Chinese are not fixed or shared. No static set of values lie behind these three categories. In this section I shall concentrate on six prominent Ami people and investigate how their different articulations help them to pursue or maintain their authority. Of these six, four (Asala, Maro', Dipon and Lifok) are Catholics, one (Holikawa) is Presbyterian and one (Dafak) practises Chinese religion. Of the Catholics I shall deal with Asala, Maro' and Dipon together and Lifok seperately. Lifok, Dafak and Holikawa require special treatment as their biographies are unusual.

Catholic leaders

Asala is 74 and he is taller than most of his fellow villagers (about 175 cm). He is cheerful and eager to talk almost all the time. He is the most important figure in Iwan and this is reflected in his position as treasurer of the Iwan Credit Union. He can speak both Japanese and Ami. Within the village he is well-respected but some younger people who work in urban areas are less supportive. These urban Ami are often not dependent on funds from the Iwan Credit Union. Asala is a keen Catholic who attends church every week and can read the bible (in Japanese). He is considered by many

people in Iwan to be a walking encyclopaedia of the village's history. By emphasising a local theology (see section 7.2), he shows that he is the person who can articulate pre-Christian Ami religion and Catholicism. Asala has personal connections with Chinese people. These began in the 1950s with a business partnership and continue today through his daughter's marriage to a Chinese man. Despite this Asala still frequently describes Chinese as being untrustworthy.

Maro' is 47 and very energetic. Her height (about 165 cm) and weight (about 65 kg) are outstanding among Ami women. She used to be an assistant of the Catholic priest and is still a keen church-goer. She has learnt a lot about the Ami's past from Asala. Maro' is very active in village affairs but as yet she has no title. She can speak Chinese well and is seen as a source of knowledge about employment in urban areas. She is very often asked to be the organiser of the singing and dancing programmes held at in a weddings etc. Maro' admires the simplicity of some Chinese customs but thinks that Chinese religion is too complicated and impractical.

Dipon is 63 and is a voluntary apostle of Iwan Catholic Church. He is regarded as a good orator and a humorous man. Dipon can speak Chinese and often uses it to win the support of the young people who live in urban areas. Dipon is originally from Ta'man so he attends social activities, such as *paklag* in both Iwan and Ta'man. While maintaining his account in Iwan Credit Union, Dipon became a member of the credit union in his home village in 1990 and became a committee member in 1993.[43] He maintains an ambivalent attitude towards Chinese. In issues of conflict with Chinese, Dipon is usually reluctant to stand up for the villagers.

Relations between Catholic leaders

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[43] Ta'man Credit Union is much bigger than Iwan Credit Union in terms of total savings. In 1993 a member in Iwan Credit Union can borrow 400,000 NT$ (£10,000) from the union while in Ta'man the amount is 1,200,000 NT$ (£30,000).

Asala-Maro'

Having both married into the Pacidal clan, Maro' and Asala have many opportunities to meet and talk at clan gatherings. Asala is keen to maintain close relations with Maro' as he often calls upon her help when he has difficulties communicating with Chinese about his credit union work. Asala is also assisted by Maro' at large singing and dancing programmes, which she organises, where she never fails to invite Asala to speak. Asala enjoys the public respect paid to him by such an important female member of the younger generation. Although Asala was probably quite disappointed at Maro' lack of loyalty when she opened an account at the Ta'man Credit Union, he maintained an air of silence regarding the threat to his livelihood and status.

At informal gatherings, where Asala is not present, Maro' does sometimes criticise Asala for being too old, too dominating and monopolising the Iwan Credit Union. But Maro' avoids confrontation with Asala.

Asala-Dipon

Asala and Dipon live quite close together and their wives often share food. In the elections for village head (*komog*) in 1989 Asala supported Dipon's candidacy. Asala did not put himself forward as a candidate, as he already had a very important job as the treasurer of the credit union in Iwan. Asala feared that if he held both posts at once he would be open to attack for being too greedy, which might result in him being forced to resign his position in the credit union.

Occasionally, when Dipon is presiding the liturgy Asala will interrupt him to correct his Ami pronunciation. Asala was openly displeased when Dipon became the first person from Iwan to open an account at the Ta'man Credit Union. Upon hearing of this Asala spoke in public about the importance of village solidarity. At informal gatherings Asala will often ridicule Dipon, and suggest that Dipon's knowledge of the world is inadequate.

Dipon always defers to Asala and shows him respect, but, as with Maro', he will criticise Asala during informal gatherings where Asala is not present. Compared with Maro', Dipon is more respectful to Asala's face and more willing to criticise behind his back.

Dipon-Maro'

Although they live quite far apart Dipon and Maro' are both regular church-goers and they meet and talk at church. Maro' often visits Dipon's house and eats there. At the singing programmes that Maro' organises Dipon is always given an opportunity to speak and lead the prayers. Dipon enjoys Maro's public support in village and church matters. He also introduced Maro' to Ta'man Credit Union and helped her to borrow money.

Maro' feels that Dipon is a good man who is willing to help others but she also knows that Dipon is too weak to be a good leader. At a recent *ilisin* ceremony some of Dipon's children have not returned to Iwan and Maro' saw this as a sign of Dipon's weakness as a leader.

Strategies of Catholic leaders

As the primary source of knowledge about the past Asala, more or less, monopolises ideas about tradition. In the picture Asala draws of the Pre-Christian village, men of his age are not eligible for the position of head man. He has excluded himself from village head candidacy through his own monologue about social organisation in the past. So although some villagers feel Asala is the right man for the job of village head Asala himself, magnanimously, disallows his own candidature. Many villagers feel this reflects Asala's real interests which do not lie within the traditional sphere he has created but rather centre on village economics which he basically controls through his position as treasurer of the credit union. Asala, with his love of detailed book-keeping, dairy-writing and note-taking has run the Iwan Credit

Union almost since its opening and he is the only person in Iwan who knows how to run it. Through his writings, which are all in Japanese, he is creating traditions of running the credit union which his successor will need to learn. It does seem that Asala has precluded any rivalry for his job as knowledge about the credit union is guarded by Asala. In this light it does seem likely that Asala will choose a successor, possibly from among his relatives.

Asala is the man at the focus of Catholic community. He calls the elements which the Ami borrowed from the Chinese *no payragan* (belonging to the Chinese). Thus in feast pattern mentioned before, the Chinese dishes, the cash gifts and the singing programme are all called *no payragan.* Nevertheless, there are still many elements regarded as *no mato'asay* (belonging to the ancestors, e.g. *paklag*) and he claims that overall the ceremony structure is still *no Ami* (belonging to the Ami). For many Catholics, under the influence of Asala's articulation, the distinction of belonging to the ancestors and belonging to the Chinese is crucial on some occasions to show that they are different from the Chinese. There are several instances of this distinction worth noting in a kinship gathering, such as on the preparation day and the finishing day of a wedding ceremony. Sticky rice and some dishes cooked in a traditional way are normally served. Facing the rice and dishes, relatives, usually 4-7 persons in a group, sit or squat on the floor and eat their meals with their hands without using chopsticks. Whereas in their daily life almost all households use chopsticks for every meal. I think that the eating of food among kin in a traditional way, e.g. without chopsticks, sitting or squatting on the floor, is an intentional statement emphasising the difference between the Ami and the Chinese. Despite the fact that usually chopsticks, table and chairs are available from the catering company without any extra charge. These facilities are only used in the feast when the guests include Chinese. Maro', Asala's pupil, explained to me: "We are Ami people, why bother to use chopsticks."

During a kinship assembly, very often a pig is killed and cooked in a traditional manner. Then the pork is distributed to all participating relatives according to their age, the oldest one is the one who gets the most and best quality meat. For Asala and Maro'

the sharing of pork is important in two ways. Firstly, the pig is slaughtered and cooked in the traditional way and thus the taste is different from what they buy from the Chinese in the market[44]. Secondly they emphasise that only the Ami know how to distribute meat properly.[45]

During several different kinship assemblies, I also heard some people, including Asala, say: Don't just come, eat and then go away as Chinese people do. It implies that proper Ami have to share food and time together during the whole ceremony. In their construction, Chinese people are clever but too money-oriented. In contrast, the Ami people have to share food and time with their fellow kin.

Obviously, these pre-Christian ritual elements are used by Asala to distinguish themselves from the Chinese. For example, in Iwan there are some Chinese households which have been living there for more than forty years. On some occasions, such as weddings or house warmings, they adopt a pattern similar to the Ami. For example, a singing programme is provided. They even ask their Ami neighbours to help them during the ceremony. However, apart from that they do not practise Christian worship in the rituals and most importantly they do not practise the aforementioned Ami customs, such as *paklag*. As Asala told me: "Anyway they are Chinese. They are different from the Ami."

Asala's attitude towards the Chinese is ambiguous. Although he has personal contact with Chinese he seems worried that Chinese will exploit the Ami and therefore stresses the importance of all the Ami in Iwan joining the local credit union, both for economic security and for village solidarity. The more money the union has the higher Asala's wage. Asala, as a high status man, is keen to promote village solidarity and he sees the Catholic church playing a very important role here. It seems that his

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44 They use a thin bamboo or iron rod to prick the pig's heart and let the blood of the pig remain inside its body. Thus the colour of the meat is red rather than pale. Furthermore, they use dried bamboo or grass to burn the fur of the pig so the skin of the pig tends to be grey rather than white.

45 I observed that on many occasions, some of the younger generation who did not know how to do these things properly were scolded by the experienced with the words: Are you a Chinese? Why don't you know how to do it in our way?

knowledge about the credit union, Ami tradition, pre-Christian village life and Catholicism are used as resources to maintain his authority.

Although at present Maro' does not have an official position many of her actions can be viewed in the context of a potential li head candidate gathering support.

She has recently bought an expensive house in Chenggung, this has been seen by many villagers as a sign of her economic success which is an important indication, especially to the younger people, of a candidate's suitability.

She has been described by some, including Lifok, as a successor to Asala, not only in terms of knowledge about the village past but also in terms of prestige within the Catholic community. For many people the most important attractions of any future leader must be their knowledge of the past and their commitment to Catholicism.

In order for Maro' to become li head she has to win the support of the neighbouring village, Tomi'ac. This village is mostly Presbyterians so Maro' has had to emphasise her kin-ties to this group and play down her Catholicism. Here the Presbyterians of Tomi'ac and the Catholics in Iwan are seen as being united in opposition to the fanatics of the True Jesus Church and of the Presbyterian church in Iwan. Her abilities to organise singing and dancing at ceremonies also helps her candidacy in Tomi'ac.

Dipon holds the positions of village head and is seen by Catholic villagers as being an assistant priest in their church. As a voluntary apostle Dipon receives payment for performing at rituals. He is keen to extend his network of friends outside Iwan and he very often goes to Ta'man to conduct rituals. Dipon will travel quite far to attend gatherings of his fellow Catholics outside Iwan. Despite being village head Dipon seems to have little commitment to village solidarity when compared to Asala.

Asala views Catholicism as providing an idiom for unity within Iwan while Dipon sees his relationships formed through Catholicism spreading far outside the village.

By emphasising past conflicts Asala seeks to create a stereo-typed image of the Chinese opposed to the Ami. In this way Asala is able to manipulate the Chinese and increase Ami solidarity. Dipon has more dealings with the Chinese and generally recognises their numerical, educational and economic superiority. Consequently he avoids any conflict with the Chinese and never represents them in a bad light.

The case of Lifok

Lifok is thin, small and the same age as Dipon (63). Because of his disability[46] he has got the nickname *cokor* (walking sticks). Although Lifok does not live in Iwan he maintains a close relations with his kin and friends there. When he comes back to Iwan he usually goes to the Catholic church for Sunday service. His enthusiasm about collecting information about the Ami's past is far stronger than most villagers. He can speak Japanese and Chinese and quite likes to talk about Ami tradition with outsiders.

Lifok is Asala's cousin (*mito'asay*), so they have many opportunities to meet and talk at kinship gatherings. Asala enjoys the respect that Lifok pays him and Asala seems confident that the younger, crippled Lifok will never challenge his authority. Asala also sees Lifok as an important source of information about government policy much of which has relevance to credit union affairs. As Asala cannot read Chinese many documents and reports would not be noticed by him if Lifok did not bring them to his attention and translate them.

Asala supports Lifok whenever Lifok brings film crews, anthropologists, journalists etc. into the village. Most important visitors to Iwan are brought into the village by Lifok who introduces them first to Asala.

Lifok never challenges Asala's authority openly. As a diplomatic speaker Lifok is keen to maintain good relations with Asala but he appears to have no illusions as he has described Asala to me as a political animal. Lifok has a minor grudge against Asala which stems from Asala's victory over Lifok's *faki* (mother's brother) in the mid 50s

[46] Lifok suffered from poliomyelities and now walks with sticks.

and early 60s in local elections. Had Lifok's *faki* won Lifok's clan would have benefited, and to this day Lifok still feels the lack of a good leader from his clan who can challenge Asala.

Maro' and Lifok have been close friends since the early 60s when they used to work together as assistants to the Swiss priest in Iwan. The intimacy of their friendship suggests that they were or have been lovers. But both Maro' and Lifok guard their reputations well and no-one appears certain of the status of their relationship.

Maro' is always full of enthusiasm to help Lifok with any project he might be organising. In 1993 Maro' asked Lifok to find her eldest daughter a job in a museum in Taidung. Lifok once told me that this daughter (born 1972) is in fact his child.

Dipon and Lifok belong to the same clan (Cilagasan) and are obliged to support and help each other. They often visit one another and eat in each other's houses. Dipon shows full support of Lifok's work whether it be collecting stories or filming. And he seems to enjoy being introduced to important visitors by Lifok.

Lifok is happy that a man from his clan holds the position of village head even though he argues that without the support of the Cilagasan clan Dipon would not have become village head. In private conversation Lifok criticises Dipon's abilities to understand the church, the bible and village history.

After working at a large ethnology institute in Taipei Lifok gained a reputation as an expert in Ami culture. In 1989 he got a job in a branch of the Tourism Bureau in Taidung. As a result of his job Lifok has many opportunities to bring wealth to Iwan and provide work for village members. As a devout Catholic Lifok wants the support and respect of his church community and the work and income he brings into Iwan all goes to the Catholics. Although Lifok does not directly involve himself in village politics he is writing a book about the history of Iwan village which is part of his job.

When in Iwan Lifok will emphasise loyalty to his home village and religion but his job demands that he travel to other Ami districts where he has to emphasise solidarity among all Ami. Despite the fact that Lifok talks about Chinese cruelty to

Iwan villagers in the past he is very diplomatic in his dealing with Chinese today. Lifok is not interested in the type of polemic description of the Chinese that Asala advocates.

The case of Dafak

At the moment Dafak is a lin head and he has ambitions to be a village head or a li head. He is not particularily tall (about 160 cm) but very sturdy. He is older than Maro' by four years (51). He seems always prompt to act or respond to everything. Dafak's entry into Catholicism was much later than most of his peers. He became Catholic in 1978, although he had had an association with Catholicism since the 1950s when the first missionary to visit Iwan stayed in his parents' house. Dafak was only a child at that time. However, in 1993 Dafak rejected Catholicism as being alien to Ami traditions and he and his family embraced Chinese religion. He endorses some traditional eating habits and maintains that the first village leader (Kalitag Payo) was an ancestor of his. From his work in Chenggung and the migration of many family members to urban areas Dafak has access to a wide network of contacts outside Iwan. He has no dealings with the credit union as he has several bank accounts in nearby towns. Generally speaking Dafak has an open attitude to the Chinese people, not only does he often entertain Chinese guests but he is also prepared to confront Chinese when necessary.

Asala and Dafak live next to door to each other, and for a long time relations between the two families have not been good. Asala has had a long-running boundary dispute with Dafak concerning the land between their houses. In 1988 Asala erected a 5 feet high wall which, Dafak argued, encroached upon his property. This wall also blocked the only possible route for Dafak's car to the main road. Dafak responded by smashing the wall with a sledgehammer. Asala tried to stop Dafak and they began to fight. Neighbours arrived but not before Asala had lost a tooth. Asala received much

criticism for building the wall, which became known as the 'Berlin Wall of Iwan'. And after a few weeks he himself demolished it.

After the Christmas mass of 1990 Dafak openly challenged Asala during the post-service discussion. At that time Asala stressed that everyone must go to church. Dafak quickly replied that religion was a matter of belief and not about public display and that Asala was not really interested in religious belief rather he was obsessed with status, pomp and intrigue.

Asala avoids meeting Dafak and he seems afraid of the physical threat of the younger Dafak. But behind Dafak's back Asala often criticises him as being too individualistic. Asala has always maintained that Dafak is not a good Catholic. Dafak's never having joined the Iwan Credit Union is seen by Asala as a sign of his individualism. When Dafak joined the Chinese religion Asala increased his criticism of Dafak but never confronted him.

Whenever Dafak mentions Asala, whether in public or private he describes him as the enemy of the whole village. Another term Dafak uses to describe Asala is vampire (si sywe gwei in Chinese), because in Dafak's view Asala provides no services for the village he just collects his credit union salary.

Maro' and Dafak were born into the same clan (Cikatopay) so despite Maro' marrying into the same clan as Asala she maintains close contact with her maternal relatives in Dafak's clan.

When Maro's husband is in Iwan it is usual for Dafak and his wife to visit Maro's house to eat and drink. Dafak holds the position, at the fisheries laboratory in Chenggung, vacated by Maro's husband when he went to Honduras. Maro' is aware of Dafak's capabilities both as a breadwinner and as a leader.

Maro' feels that Dafak has become too involved with the Chinese, both at work and in Iwan. She also thinks that he is too individualistic in village affairs, and for her Dafak's lack of involvement in church or credit union affairs is a sign of his headstrong attitude.

Dafak is keen to build upon his kin ties with Maro', and is always eager to talk to Maro' at public gatherings, whereas Maro' is wary of Dafak and is hesitant to become close friends with him. In private, out of Maro's earshot Dafak will often criticise Maro' for being too vain. Dafak seems insulted that Maro' does not want to reciprocate his gifts and friendly advances. He would also like Maro' to call upon him to speak at public gatherings which she never does.

Dipon and Dafak live close to each other. Dafak is keen to develop a close relationship with Dipon because Dafak feels that sometime he might require the help and support of the village head. As a irregular church-goer Dafak realises that he is open to general criticism and he likes the sense of security provided by his good relationship with the village head. Dafak often gives gifts to Dipon's household and frequently invites Dipon and his wife to eat at his house.

Dipon does not like Dafak mainly because Dafak does not go to church, and Dipon usually refuses invitations from Dafak to eat at his house. Since 1992 Dafak and his family have refused to make donations to the church. Dipon often complains about this to other church members. After Dafak's conversion to Chinese religion Dafak and Dipon had no contact. As a voluntary apostle of the Catholic church Dipon took a very low view of Dafak's adoption of Chinese religion. Dipon also feels that his leadership is threatened by the direct, aggressive approach of Dafak to village affairs.[47]

Although Lifok and Dafak are not close friends they visit each other and maintain good relationships. Lifok recognises Dafak's abilities as a leader and does see him as a potential village leader, consequently he wants to remain a good terms with Dafak. However Lifok's views on Dafak's character and his relationship to the Chinese are roughly the same as Maro's. Although Lifok was openly disappointed

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47 In 1993 the south Iwan water supply became polluted due to the indiscriminate use of pesticides by upland Chinese farmers. Although the Ami were angry they were unsure of what to do, until Dafak took control of the situation. Calling together his fellow lin heads he visited the house of the farmer and demanded an apology and compensation. The farmer agreed to apologise but refused to offer any recompense until Dafak threatened to take him to court. Upon hearing that the farmer offered a pig, which was accepted. After this incident sometimes Dafak criticises Dipon for being a weak leader.

when Dafak chose the Chinese religion he maintains a sympathetic attitude towards Dafak and suggests that Dafak will return to Catholicism. Lifok has said that Dafak's change of religion could have been worse, at least Dafak did not become a Presbyterian.

Dafak is eager to develop a closer relationship with Lifok, calling him teacher or elder brother and visiting him in Taidung whenever he has the opportunity. Dafak sees Lifok as a valuable source of information about the outside world, which Dafak hopes to turn to his own advantage.

In Dafak's reading of the past his family plays a very important role in Iwan. Kalitag Payo, Dafak's ancestor, was the first Ami settler in the area and the first village head of Iwan. In Asala's reading village history formally began when the age-group organisation was formed. However Dafak always emphasises that his ancestor's arrival in Iwan was the start of village history. When talking about the past Dafak wants to persuade people that he is a very traditional man. Here he differs from Asala who also wants to be seen as a traditional man but who also wants to emphasise the differences between Ami and Chinese.

Dafak maintains that Catholicism is not really suitable for the Ami citing the case of his mother, a traditional healer who became sick when she entered Catholicism. Dafak emphasises that Catholicism was not and is not part of Ami tradition. He also maintains that everyone has the right to choose their own religion.

Like Dipon, and unlike Asala, Dafak does not see relations between Ami and Chinese in black and white terms. Unlike Dipon, Dafak is not overawed by the Chinese and is prepared to confront the Chinese when necessary. In my reading of Dafak's attitude to the Chinese he realises that the most important area of modern Ami life is the relationship between the Ami and the Chinese in Taiwan. His behaviour can be seen as an attempt to articulate Ami and Chinese concepts.

The case of Holikawa

Holikawa is an elder in the Presbyterian church and claims to have rejected the pre-Christian supernatural beings. He is 73 years old. Although short and slim his eyes are always piercing. From his long contact with the Presbyterian church he has learnt how to read and write Ami. The majority of Iwan Presbyterians are members of Holikawa's family. Dogi and Kacaw are two of them. Dogi is Holikawa's youngest sister and she lives near the Presbyterian church and her brother's house. Dogi's husband, Kacaw, is a very weak and dominated man. Born a Catholic, Kacaw married Dogi knowing full well that he would have to become a Presbyterian and a follower of Holikawa. Kacaw is known throughout the village as a insignificant man and when he was a bachelor he could not find himself a wife from among the Catholic majority. In order to marry he was prepared to sacrifice the support of his Catholic kin and become a Presbyterian. Apart from Holikawa, his wife, Dogi and Kacaw there are Holikawa's two other sisters and his niece.

The other members of the Presbyterian congregation are mainly from Koper's family. Koper died in 1978 after having brought Presbyterianism to Iwan from Kaciday. Agkim and her husband Marag are the most influential of Koper's descendants being in charge of the maintenance of the church. Although Agkim's group support Holikawa they are not as close to him as his sisters. Holikawa does keen to maintain close contact with Agkim and her family through regular visits to her house but I have never seen Agkim call on Holikawa.

At kinship gatherings of Sadipogan clan where Holikawa is often obliged to speak as a *faki* (mother's brother), although he tries to impress his audience, only a few people take him seriously. Many Catholic villagers see Holikawa as a lonely figure in the village, all his children have joined the Iwan Credit Union but he himself has not because he does not want to meet Asala. I have never seen Asala and Holikawa close to each other, they always maintain a distance, and only exchange the most basic formalities.

Holikawa and Asala belong to the same age-group— this group have the nick name *laimig* (always number one). In this group five men, including Holikawa and

Asala, underwent secondary education. The competition between these five men, for leadership of the group and the village, was very intense.[48] Since these five men joined the age-group organisation they have been competing for status and support. The relationship between Holikawa and Asala began to deteriorate when Holikawa married into Asala's clan.

Holikawa was one of the first to adopt Presbyterianism in Iwan and he and his wife soon found themselves pushed out of her clan. There was a custom for wealth distribution in cases of household fission. Normally the *faki* of a clan should help the new household with all they require (land, wood, rice, utensils etc.) to start anew. Holikawa and his wife received nothing from her family when they set up their new household. Rather they set up a new household on Holikawa's mother's land. This kind of household division is very unusual in Iwan. This has been a major source of conflict between Holikawa and Asala because Asala is one of the most important *faki* in his (and Holikawa's wife's) clan.

In 1949 Asala joined the Presbyterian church in Iwan. At that time Holikawa was one of the church leaders along with Koper. After joining the church Asala sought confrontation with Holikawa at every opportunity.[49] When Catholicism arrived in Iwan Asala waited until they were in the majority before he left the Presbyterian congregation. Holikawa maintains that Asala's switch of religion is clear evidence of his lack of faith. On the other hand Asala maintains that Holikawa is a very stubborn man. He argues that it would be better for the whole village to present a united Catholic front, but Holikawa persists with his Presbyterian ways.

Holikawa's relations with other non-Presbyterian Ami are equally bad. For example, Holikawa and Dipon are not in friendly terms, and usually Dipon will not acknowledge Holikawa's presence even if Holikawa greets him in a polite fashion.

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48 Holikawa is smaller and shorter than Asala, and his voice is not so powerful. Asala is generally regarded as the more handsome of the two.

49 At this time Lifok thought that Asala was trying to unite with Koper and force Holikawa out of favour in the church.

Maro' feels that Presbyterians, like Holikawa, have an unrealistic life that concentrates on the emotional at the expense of the rational. Maro' believes that the Ami have to catch up with the Chinese, in terms of standards of living, and she feels that the Presbyterian life style is not suitable for modern society. Holikawa and Dafak are not friends and I have never heard Dafak mention Holikawa's name, but Holikawa did talk about Dafak's adoption of Chinese religion. Holikawa said that he could understand how Dafak felt after he had been isolated by the majority of the villagers. Holikawa also suggested that Dafak would have been better off joining the Presbyterians rather than the Chinese religion. Holikawa is a senior mother's brother in Lifok's father's clan (Sadipogan) and so they have a kinship relation. In kinship gatherings they will meet but apart from this there are no other meetings between them. For Holikawa Lifok is like Asala in that he has betrayed the Presbyterian faith. While Lifok maintains that Holikawa is too wrapped up in church affairs and does not give enough energy to village matters.

Holikawa appears to live a very humble religious life with most of his social contacts being members of his family who also comprise the congregation of the Presbyterian church. He does however have a friend in the Chinese shopkeeper C. M. Huang. Holikawa can often be seen sitting in Mr. Huang's shop chatting to the proprietor or his wife. I have never seen Holikawa enter a Catholic house, if he has a duty to perform there, as a *faki*, he will always sit outside.

Because of his long-time dislike for Asala, Holikawa rejects Catholicism and traditional ceremonies. He never wants to put himself in a position when he might come under Asala's authority. Holikawa can be seen as rejecting normality. Holikawa feels that Catholics have the wrong attitude towards god and life. For him Catholics should stop drinking, chewing betel, smoking, indulging themselves in material goods and refrain from participation in acts that have any connection with pre-Christian *kawas* (e.g. wearing traditional costume etc.). His house, in a village of modern two-storey dwellings, is over 30 years old, single-storeyed and the only house in the village with a slate roof. Despite his status and his wealth he dresses in old simple clothes and flip-

flops. In a village where drinking, chewing betel and smoking are among the most popular pass-times Holikawa chooses an abstemious life. In a village where the credit union is both a means to get money and a symbol of village solidarity Holikawa refuses to join. The only area in Ami public life that is completely free from Asala's influence is the Presbyterian church and this is where we find Holikawa investing most of his energies.

Among the Presbyterian congregation Holikawa is the only one with a secondary education so he can read the bible in both Japanese and the Ami and consequently the Presbyterian congregation look to him as a source of knowledge about the world. He is keen to cement relationship with all Presbyterians in Iwan.

Recently Holikawa has been attracted to the more austere Prayer Mountain as he feels that Presbyterianism is becoming too similar to Catholicism. For Holikawa the involvement of the Presbyterian church in the revival of pre-Christian festivals, like *ilisin*, is a mistake and he wants all pre-Christian elements to be removed from Ami life.

Holikawa is keen to visit the Prayer Mountain to the south of Iwan every fortnight. He likes to maintain contacts with life outside Iwan through the Prayer Mountain. Holikawa is eager to invite new people to the Presbyterian church and he maintains contact with colleagues from the Prayer Mountain so that if anyone from Iwan suffers misfortune he can visit them in hospital or at home. Two Presbyterians in Iwan, Tagsig and Regos, were converted by Holikawa in this way recently.

In Holikawa's reading of Iwan history economics is emphasised. In the past the Ami were very poor. Now they have a much better life and so the Ami should give thanks to god, but they should not get into involved in the here and now, rather everyone should be primarily concerned with eternal salvation through the worship of god.[50]

Holikawa believes that basically all humans are equal and the only distinctions to be made between people should be in terms of true believers (Presbyterians like him)

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[50] Asala always dresses smartly often wearing a tie and a hat while Holikawa looks like a poor man in his simple clothes.

and non believers (all others including Catholics). As a pious believer he avoids passing judgement on other groups like the Chinese. This contrasts with Asala's view that includes a marked hierarchy of peoples with Europeans at the top, followed by Japanese, Chinese and aborigines at the bottom. For Asala the Ami are the most advanced aborigines standing well above the other and nearly on the level of the Chinese. When Holikawa's son married an Atayal girl these different views became clear. Holikawa gave his blessing for his son to marry a fellow Presbyterian. However, for Asala this marriage was a target of ridicule as Holikawa's son had clearly married beneath himself.

Many Catholics feel that through the revival of festivals like *ilisin* they can create a boundary to differentiate themselves from the Chinese. But for Presbyterians like Holikawa the only way to maintain a distinctive feeling of 'Aminess' is through the use and preservation of Ami language.

Final analysis: Asala vs. Holikawa

Asala's public discourse (i.e. his speeches and conversation in formal gatherings) focusses on village solidarity. Like most established leaders he emphasises consensus and unity and stresses that the way to achieve these goals is through membership of the credit union and the Catholic Church. In Asala's picture Ami solidarity is built upon an opposition between Chinese and Ami where the onus is upon the young people of Iwan to catch up with Chinese in terms of living standards. Asala's emphasis on money as the means for the Ami to achieve a better life leads to a situation where all the young people (including most of Asala's potential rivals) leave the village to seek employment. It also generates work for the credit union and this is where Asala's real interests lie. Because almost every household in Iwan has joined the credit union Asala has an element of control over their economic activity. The busier the credit union is the higher Asala's wage. Like so many other successful leaders Asala has created a discourse which serves both his interests and the interests of his

followers. Here the past is re-spoken to legitimate the present and the present is seen as being about economic improvement.

Although Holikawa's audiences are always far smaller than Asala's he too presents a public discourse at any gathering where people will listen to him. In contrast to Asala's history of unity in the face of colonialism Holikawa describes the past in terms of rupture and enlightenment. For Holikawa pre-Christian Ami life is not worth mentioning, it is the introduction of Presbyterian values that offers hope for the future. In Holikawa's speeches the emphasis is on morality, he feels that living a good moral Presbyterian life will bring rewards in heaven. In his eyes the Catholic majority are immoral, being too concerned with worldly pleasures, so Holikawa can be seen to be presenting a critique of Asala's discourse. As Asala's reading of the present situation has been adopted by the majority Holikawa finds himself isolated. This situation is the result of Holikawa's relationship with Asala. I suggest that Holikawa remains staunchly Presbyterian in the face of a Catholic majority because he wants to oppose Asala. Here the stress is upon the two Christian faiths providing an idiom for political competition. Although Holikawa has lost this competition he still wants to emphasise his opposition to Asala and above all to avoid being subsumed into the group that follow Asala (i.e. the Catholics), Holikawa associates Catholicism with Asala and therefore refuses to join the Catholic Church. Holikawa remains Presbyterian because it is the most viable and popular alternative to Catholicism.

In my reading of Ami conversion in Iwan the most important factors are people, in particular Asala and Holikawa. The conflict between these two elder statesmen, which is recognised by all villagers, has played a huge part in shaping modern Iwan. Asala's importance is acknowledged by almost everyone and he is the main source of discourse about the Catholic religion, and about village, household and credit union solidarity. In terms of the unified social world of Asala, Holikawa represents the enemy, the Hallelujahs of the Presbyterian Church. Holikawa plays this role (the only one Asala allows him) with a great deal of conviction. For most Catholics he is the Presbyterian Church. Relations between Asala and Holikawa have dominated Iwan

politics for more than 30 years and this could continue until their death. Inter-generational differences in Iwan indicate that the future will bring Iwan closer to mainstream Taiwan (as more and more young people marry Chinese) and we may well see articulations, such as Dafak's, which attempt to integrate Ami and Chinese religious concepts becoming more popular. But, for the present, religion in Iwan can still be described in terms of Asala and Holikawa, men who describe their differences in terms of religion and who hold their religions because of their differences.

Conclusion

The Ami's mass conversion to Christianity after 1945 is a historical event. Therefore it should be considered within a historical context. In most past studies of the Ami's conversion, impact from outside the Ami village (e.g. government policies and influences of Chinese immigrants etc.) are emphasised and the Ami are seen, more or less, as passive recipients rather than as active meaning-users. I agree with Fernandez (1978:214) in that the anthropologist's constituency "is the local one, the peoples and cultures who are the subjects of study." Thus I take a viewpoint that the Ami have their own discourses about basic human desires, about individual strategies, about the meaning and function of religion and about the history of their religious development. This study concerns the Ami's conversion to Christianity and its aftermath mainly from their own point of view.

In this sense I suggest that the Ami history of the Ami, who have been politically dominated by the Japanese and the Chinese since the last century, is a series of articulations, by the Ami, of various socio-cultural resources. I argue that through articulations of prominent Ami leaders external phenomena have been integrated into Ami life and the articulations themselves have also helped political leaders to pursue and maintain their authority. Here history is not something that really happened to people rather it is something created by people after the events concerned. It therefore reflects contemporary concerns rather than providing an insight into the past.

Throughout their history the Ami have maintained the principle that if an individual wants to be successful then they must acknowledge some form of *kawas* (supernatural being). Good health and success in life were, and still are, seen as the signs of a good relationship with *kawas*. In the first part of this study I try to describe the function and meaning of Ami religion from their point of view. I suggest that in the

constructions of some Catholic informants the pre-Christian Ami had a practical attitude toward their religion, with health, long life, happiness and enough food being their major concerns. Therefore the Catholic Ami can justify their this-worldly ways of life after their conversion. Although Presbyterians tend to see all Ami pre-Christian supernatural beings as evil they still regard religion as having provided an idiom for talking about success and failure. For the Ami religion is best viewed as being more concerned with the search for material benefits than with any abstract notions.

Religious conversion happened against a historical background of long and sustained contact with colonising immigrants. During colonial rule, Ami social life expanded radically and mass conversion took place when a common dissatisfaction with their life was felt in the 1950s. I argue that relative deprivation was an important factor in the conversion and it became significant because of the emphasise put on it by local political leaders. For many local people, accepting Christianity was a means to pursue a better material life. It also allowed them access to a new *kawas* (god), whose potency had been proven by the fact that the Americans beat the Japanese in the Second World War. This victory was seen by the Ami as demonstrating the superiority of the god of the Americans whose support they sought through conversion to Christianity, the religion of the Americans.

Moreover, although Christianity was accepted as a religion, it must be remembered that historically the Ami people were never ruled by the Europeans. One of the most important aspects of Christianity is that upon arrival in Iwan the missionaries had no direct involvement in the colonial administration. Therefore conversion to Christianity could be used as a form of resistance to Chinese domination. Unlike the Kwaio (Keesing,1989) or Vanuatu (Norton,1993), Christianity was not seen as a symbol associated with the colonisers. Instead, I suggest that in many contexts the reception of Christianity helps the Ami to differentiate themselves from the Chinese.

In this study the individual interests of social actors are emphasised. I suggest that not only political leaders had special motives (i.e. to pursue political power) in

conversion, but also the ordinary people had their own interests too (i.e. to pursue a better life in the future or to show their support for a favourite leader). Mass conversion was first triggered by the image of Presbyterianism, portrayed by some local political leaders as a powerful religion and a symbol of higher civilisation in order to against established authority. The later acceptance of Catholicism by the majority of villagers was mainly the result of a power contest among Ami political leaders. In other words, the adoption of different Christian churches is best understood from perspective of internal political relations.

As Ortner (1989:99) suggests: "outside forces represented opportunities, as well as pressures." Under the influence of the outside world, the relations between an individual's interest and the means to achieve it became more and more complicated. The different attitudes among political leaders in the 1950s highlights the situation the Ami had to face: how to catch up with the Chinese in terms of living standard, by borrowing new cultural elements, on the one hand, and how to maintain their cultural identity on the other hand. In fact concepts like tradition and Christianity are not fixed or static. They are not shared equally among the people rather they are the subjects of the articulations adopted by leaders in their pursuit of power, prestige and material benefits. Through the articulation of cultural resources leaders make claims on or maintain positions of authority

Thus, similar to Baum (1990), my interpretation of religious development differs from those scholars (e.g. Horton,1971&1975) who have treated the conversion of traditional societies to world religions as a part of a universal historical progression. I do not see the Ami accepting Christianity in a pure form and simply replacing their pre-Christian system of belief with this new religion. In fact the meanings, functions, purposes and aims imputed to religion by converts are arrived at through internal process.

Here we might reconsider the concept of conversion from the Ami's point of view. The Ami have five different terms for worship each one referring to a different religion. *Misalisin* is the term associated with the Ami traditional religion, *mita'og* is

associated with Japanese religion, *mipaypay* is associated with Chinese religion, *mimisa* with Catholicism and *milihay* with Presbyterianism. Only when they mention Christianity is another word *micomod* (join in or enter) is used. When they mention Japanese religion they say that they were forced to worship rather than join in with free will. Nowadays if some villagers face a difficulty they may secretly go to a Chinese religious expert for help. In such cases most villagers tend to feel sympathetic and so long as Catholicism is not abandoned and the Chinese way of worship is not conducted openly then it is acceptable. Clearly religion for the Ami is not only concerned with pursuing material benefits but also social solidarity plays a part. Conversion to Christianity is not only about using different words, objects and rituals to achieve certain purposes but it is also a kind of political statement, both in terms of their relations with the colonisers and local politics.

It should be pointed out that Christian teachings do create new ways of perceiving the world. For example, almost all the Presbyterians in Iwan, and a few of their Catholic fellow villagers, report that after-life salvation is very important for a Christian. Nevertheless for the villagers religion is still the most important idiom of village politics. The development of a church is often interpreted via the alliance and contest between village leaders. Asala's relations with Dafak and Holikawa are exemplifications of this.

Certainly the development of religion among the Ami is not solely a product of the Ami themselves. An important outside influence among the Ami is the attitude, and related policies, of the government toward aborigines. There is much evidence to show that the government played a significant part in the development of Ami social organisation and religion. The government's attitude toward Christianity is important here. It was the free religion policy of the Chinese Nationalist government that made mass conversion to Christianity in the 1950s possible.

Furthermore, the development of the Chinese government itself also had an impact on the development of Ami religion. Before 1970, the main concern of the Nationalist government, which was then predominantly controlled by the Chinese who

had come to Taiwan after 1949, was regaining mainland China from the communists. In this context, aspects of local Taiwanese culture, such as dialects, operas and many other customs, were to some extent repressed by the government. The confiscation of aboriginal bibles and hymn books, which were being printed in vernacular languages using Romanised script, occurred as a part of government repression. In the meantime, although the government adopted some policies to protect and help the aborigines, an underlying assumption of these policies was that the aborigines as a minority were bound to be assimilated into Chinese society.

The development of a Taiwanese identity started in the 1970s. At first it was an unofficial endeavour involving the literati, artists, social scientists and the like. They stressed native aspects of Taiwanese life by encouraging people to take pride in Taiwanese culture and by balancing the focus of the Nationalist government which lies mainland China. Later the rise of Taiwanese consciousness began in Taiwan's political and social development. In the 1980s the government began to create an image of Taiwanese nationality that placed importance on emphasising local culture and tradition. Concomitant with the increasingly localised focus of the Nationalist government, its attitude to the aboriginal cultures began to change. For example, the ban on aboriginal bibles and hymn books in Romanised script was lifted. Furthermore, in the mid 1980s the government began to encourage, and subsidise, the Ami to revive their new year ceremony, *ilisin*, and this coincided with the construction of a new image of aboriginal culture within the wider society.

I suggest that some Ami were aware of this change and in fact tried to manipulate it. For example, during my fieldwork, some villagers, such as Dafak, suggested that the government should help them financially to rebuild their *sfi* (meeting place). They said, the villagers could keep their tradition and help the government to bring tourists to east Taiwan. It shows that the Ami are not passive recipients of external phenomena. On the contrary, some of the villagers are trying to exploit all the means, available whether from inside the village or from the outside world.

Furthermore, different churches have different ideas about the gospel and different views about primitive society too. More importantly, the distinctions between religion and non-religion made by different church authorities regarding Ami culture are different. For example, the Catholic Church sees the *ilisin*, as a proper Ami tradition and tolerates it. In some villages, such as Kinaluka, the Catholic mass is incorporated into *ilisin* activities. In Iwan, the Swiss father was one of those who promoted the revival of the *ilisin* in 1961. At the other extreme is the True Jesus Church. It insists that *ilisin* is a part of the remains of Ami pagan belief and therefore its congregation are not allowed to participate in it. They even view the wearing of traditional costumes as improper because they might be connected with traditional religion. The change of attitude of the Presbyterian authorities is also significant in this context. At the beginning it shared the same view as the True Jesus Church, namely seeing *ilisin* as a symbol of evil; but now they tend to see it as a custom and if there is no worship in it the believers are encouraged to join in.

These differences show not only that different churches have different attitudes toward Ami tradition, but also that the attitude of a single church could change over time. This is the result of changes in the personnel or the interests of the personnel who made up the church authorties.

Nevertheless these external phenomena did not determine the shape of religious development in Iwan. Rather the individual Ami are active agents, perceiving and reacting according to their interests. I shall quote from Ortner (1989:100) by way of conclusion:

> "... people are *always* reinterpreting their situation, acting on it in their own terms, and making the most they can—materially, morally, and in every other way—out of it. This does not mean pretending that they successfully turn every problem they encounter to their own advantage. But it does mean recognizing that they always have their own point of view and their own modes of dealing with the world." (emphasis in original)

The Ami could not control the invasions of the Chinese and the Japanese, or the appearance of Christianity in their territory. But over and above these, what Chinese, Japanese or Christianity means in Ami society are products of the articulations of individual Ami who have sought to benefit from the bringing together, in novel ways, of aspects of Japanese, Chinese and Christianity and Ami society itself.

Ami glossary

adada-- sickness; any unfortune situation for human being.

cikawasay -- a person with supernatural power; a traditional (local) healer.

cilisinay -- the person who in charge of a certain ritual.

ciloma'ay -- members of a household; branch family.

'daw -- bamboo oracle; to see something clearly.

dmak -- an activity; the things one does; ordinary matters.

faki -- mother's brother.

fana' -- generic term for knowledge.

finawlan -- a crowd ; large group of people; a community of people; male age-group organisation in Iwan.

gasaw -- a group with common ancestry; clan; tribe in the biblical use.

ilisin-- new year ritual (ceremony).

ina -- mother; female goddess.

kadafo -- son-in-law; daughter-in-law.

kaka -- older brother/sister; one in superior position; one more advanced.

kakitaan -- village leader; someone who is rich and has prestige; biblical term for the Judges.

kapah -- young man/woman; beautiful, pretty; one of the two main categories in the age-group organisation.

kapot -- age mates; a group in the age organisation; associate.

kawas -- any kind of supernatural beings; Jesus Christ for the Presbyterian Ami.

kimad -- story/narrative; preach.

laloma'an -- a group of households with clear root-branch relationship ; households group.

lisin -- ritual; superstitious/animistic worship in the view of Presbyterian about traditional Ami ritual.

loma'-- a house; a building; the people of a house; household.

malinaay -- descendants from one ancestress; relatives.

mama -- father; person to be dependent on.

mama no kapah the leading group of the youth in the age-group organisation.

mato'asay -- a person who is becoming ancestor (*to'as*); an old man/woman; one of the two main categories in the age organisation.

miftir-- special rite before drinking wine; a way of worship.

mito'asay -- a term refering to the children of a married-out person.

niyaro'-- Ami village; town; city.

pakarogay -- the lowest group in the age-group organisation.

palatapag-- a ritual allowing a person who married into the village to choose a household as his/her natal household.

parod -- cooking stove/hearth; family.

paysin -- taboo.

pito'asan -- father's natal household.

safa -- younger brother/sister; inferior to; lesser in rank.

salikaka -- brother or sister in the same family without reference to age; a term for people in the same social group.

sfi -- the community gathering house of an Ami village; men's house; kitchen of a house.

tapag-- lord/master; the base of; the start of...; official or ruler; Jesus in the Catholic translation of the Ami Bible.

tatapagan -- one's natal family; root family.

to'as -- ancestor/ancestress in heaven.

wama -- father; the god for Catholics.

wawa -- children; offspring.

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